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1959

N

NORTHERN DEPARTMENT

HUNGARY

N 1110110/81

FROM M. R.R.G. Watts, Commonwealth Relations Office to M. J.E. Reeve.

CONFIDENTIAL

No. WES 63/73/3.

Dated November 20th, 1959.

Received November 24th, 1959.

SUBJECT:

Request for telegrams about discussion of Hungary at the U.N. General Assembly.

References

MINUTES

A.) M. R.R.G. Watts, Commonwealth Relations Office, WES 63/73/3 of November 23rd

J.R. 26/11

(Printing Instructions)

142997

(Outward Action)

Desp) M. Watts. CRO. Nov 24th

(Action completed)	(Main Indexed)
P.D. 26/11/59	11/1/61

J-116 54817—3E

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CONFIDENTIAL

RECEIVED IN ARCHIVES
24 NOV 1959
NH 0110/81.

COMMONWEALTH RELATIONS OFFICE

WHItehall 2323
Ext.
Your reference :
Please quote in reply: WES. 63/73/3

DOWNING STREET
LONDON S.W.1

20 November, 1959

Dear Reeve,

We spoke this morning about discussion of the Hungarian question at the U.N. General Assembly. As I explained we should like to be kept up-to-date on developments in this matter and should consequently be grateful if telegrams to and from New York etc., could be given either F.O. and Whitehall or F.O. (Secret) and Whitehall (Secret) distribution, so that copies come to this Office automatically as soon as they are copied.

I understand from our conversation that the present position is that we have decided to fall in line with the Americans and support the inscription of the question of Hungary on the agenda of the General Assembly; and that the question of inscription will come before the General Committee shortly. You mentioned that the Americans had produced a draft resolution: I should be grateful if you would let us have a copy.

We have seen your telegram No.1581 of 12th November to New York: could you let us know whether this means that our delegation in New York have been urging other delegations to dissuade Sir L. Munro from reporting orally to the General Assembly and to prevent substantive discussion in the Assembly; or have our discussions on this matter been with the Americans only? We should be glad to know what you have learned of the views of Commonwealth Governments on the matter.

You also mentioned that you had sent a copy of Budapest telegram No. 312 of 14th November to the F.O. to the Canadians in London.

Yours sincerely,

R.Watts

(R.R.G. WATTS)

PS. Since writing the above I have seen copies of No. 895 from N.Y. and No. 2441 from Washington: thank you. We shd. still like to have a copy of the U.S. dft. resolution and of your No. 1611 to N.Y. R.W.

J.E. Reeve, Esq.,
Northern Department,
Foreign Office,
London,
S.W.1.

CONFIDENTIAL

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CONFIDENTIAL

COMMONWEALTH RELATIONS OFFICE
DOWNING STREET
LONDON, S.W.1

RECEIVED IN ARCHIVES
24 NOV 1959
NH10110/81(A)

Whitehall 2323/*Ext.*
Your Reference:
Please quote in reply: WES. 63/73/3

23 November, 1959

Dear Reeve.

Further to my letter of 20th November about discussion of the Hungarian question at the United Nations General Assembly, I have now received a series of telegrams, beginning with No. 353 Saving of 7th November from New York, which include the American draft resolution. Thank you also for giving the new telegrams a Whitehall distribution.

No. 353 Saving from New York refers to representations which the Minister of State made (to Mr. Lodge?) on 29th October. I should be grateful if you would let us know the nature of those representations, perhaps by sending us copies of the relevant telegrams etc. The latest we have on the United Kingdom's views on the substance of the Hungarian question is McAlpine's letter NH. 10110/25 of 22nd June last (paragraph 2).

Yours sincerely,
Rosslyn Watts.

(R.R.G. Watts)

J.E. REEVE, ESQ.,
NORTHERN DEPARTMENT,
FOREIGN OFFICE,
S.W.1.

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Registry No.

J.
E.
R.

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~~xxxxx~~
Confidential.
~~xxxxxxxx~~
~~xxxxxx~~

Draft. Letter

To:-

Mr. R.R.G.Watts,
C.R.O.

From:-

Mr. Reeve.

FOREIGN OFFICE, S.W.1.

November , 1959.

Thank you for your letters WES 53/73/3 of November 20 (+ Nov 23). I am very sorry that there have been delays and omissions in your receiving copies of ~~recent~~ telegrams about Hungary. ~~You will~~ As you have seen ~~that~~ we are now, as you requested, giving telegrams in this series FO and Whitehall distribution.

2. I enclose a copy of the (amended version of the) U.S. Resolution which we have now agreed to co-sponsor (our tel. No. 1649 to New York) together with a selection of earlier telegrams as background. The latest reports on the position as regards the inscription of the item ~~is set out~~ are contained in New York's telegrams Nos. 924 and 925 and No. 383 Saving.

3. Our discussions about the desirability of having the Hungarian question debated at the current General Assembly have been held only with the Americans and although it was our view that substantive discussion in the Assembly should be avoided our Delegation in New York have not been lobbying in that sense. The Canadian Deputy High Commissioner here volunteered the information contained in our telegram No. 1581 to New York when he called to ask for our assistance in obtaining information about the legal aspect of the recent reports of executions in Hungary. We understand that the Canadian and Australian Governments will be supporting inscription but

/we have

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51-2126 V.P.Co.

CONFIDENTIAL

we have had no indication ~~here~~ of the views of other Commonwealth Governments.

4. Please let me know

24/a

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Despatched in Dept 24/11 2nd

FOREIGN OFFICE,

S.W.1.

November 24, 1959.

Thank you for your letters WES 53/73/3 of November 20 and November 23. I am very sorry that there have been delays and omissions in your receiving copies of telegrams about Hungary. As you have seen, we are now, as you requested, giving telegrams in this series Foreign Office and Whitehall distribution.

2. I enclose a copy of the amended version of the United States Resolution which we have now agreed to co-sponsor (our telegram No. 1649 to New York) together with a selection of earlier telegrams as background (including New York telegram No. 728 which gives an account of the representations made by the Minister of State to Mr. Lodge on October 29). The latest reports on the position as regards the inscription of the item are contained in New York's telegrams Nos. 924 and 925 and No. 383 Saving.

3. Our discussions about the desirability of having the Hungarian question debated at the current General Assembly have been held only with the Americans and although it was our view that substantive discussion in the Assembly should be avoided our Delegation in New York have not been lobbying in that sense. The Canadian Deputy High Commissioner here volunteered the information contained in our telegram No. 1581 to New York when he called to ask for our assistance in obtaining information about the legal aspect of the recent reports of executions in Hungary. We understand that the Canadian and Australian Governments will be supporting inscription but we have had no indication of the views of other Commonwealth Governments.

(J.E. Reeve)

R.R.G. Watts, Esq.,
Commonwealth Relations Office,
S.W.1.

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1959

N

NORTHERN DEPARTMENT

HUNGARY

NH 10110/82

FROM Y.O. Minute, Mr Brimelow (Outward Telegram.)

No.

Dated November 26th, 1959

Received November 27th, 1959.

SUBJECT:

Request for information concerning the circulation of Sir Leslie Munro's report.

References

MINUTES

A.) New York No 957 of November 26th.

JR 30/11

(Printing Instructions)

(Outward Action)

Tel) 1681 to New York. Nov 26th.

& to M. Wells, C.R.O. Nov 27th.

(Action completed)	(Main Indexed)
P.D. 1/12/59	2/1/60

J-116 54817—3E

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Secret
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~~Restricted~~
Open

EMERGENCY
IMMEDIATE
~~PRIORITY~~
ROUTINE
with ____ priority
without
DEFERRED

* Date and time (G.M.T.) telegram should reach addressee(s) .....

(Date) 26 NOV 1959

Despatched 3.10 Pm

Draft.

[*Security classification —if any*] 6/-

[*Codeword—if any*]

Telegram to :—
U.K. MISSION NEW YORK

Address to U.K. MISSION NEW YORK

No. 1681

telegram No. 1681 *(date)* November 26

(*Date*) 26/11/59

And to :—

repeated for information to SAVING TO WASHINGTON, BUDAPEST AND U.K. DELEGATION NATO.

Repeat to :—
WASHINGTON (S) 4903 SAY
BUDAPEST (S) 55 SAY
U.K. DEL. NATO(S) 2478 =

En Clair.
~~*Code*~~
~~*Cypher*~~

RECEIVED ARCHIVES 27 NOV 1959

Distribution :—
Departmental
Northern
UN

Copies to :—
C.R.O. (Mr. Watts)

The following Parliamentary Question has been put down by Sir Thomas Moore, M.P., for reply on November 30:

"To ask the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether he has yet had a report from the United Kingdom representative to the United Nations regarding the report of the United Nations Special Commissioner in (sic) Hungary; and if he will make a statement".

2. Is it yet known when Sir

/....

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Leslie Munro's report will be circulated. If it ~~will be~~ becomes available before November 30 please telegraph full summary and Comments.

JB
26/11/53.

Dist to:
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UN Dept
Int Policy Dept
Int Research Dept
News Dept

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FROM FOREIGN OFFICE TO NEW YORK

(United Kingdom Mission to the United Nations)

En Clair and By Bag

DEPARTMENTAL DISTRIBUTION

No. 1681
November 26, 1959.

D: 3.10 p.m. November 26, 1959.

IMMEDIATE

Addressed to UKMIS New York telegram No. 1681 of November 26
Repeated for information Saving to Washington No. 4903 Budapest No. 55
UKDEL N.A.T.O. No. 2478

The following Parliamentary Question has been put down by Sir Thomas Moore, M.P., for reply on November 30 :

"To ask the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether he has yet had a report from the United Kingdom representative to the United Nations regarding the report of the United Nations Special Commissioner in [sic] Hungary; and if he will make a statement".

2. Is it yet known when Sir Leslie Munro's report will be circulated. If it becomes available before November 30 please telegraph full summary and comments.

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United Nations Department
Information Policy Department
Information Research Department
News Department

HHHHH

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FROM NEW YORK TO FOREIGN OFFICE
(United Kingdom Mission to the United Nations)

RECEIVED IN ARCHIVES
27 NOV 1959
NH1011/82(A)

En Clair

DEPARTMENTAL DISTRIBUTION

Sir P. Dixon
No. 957
November 26, 1959.

D: 6.36 p m. November 26, 1959.
R: 6.52 p.m. November 26, 1959.

IMMEDIATE

Addressed to Foreign Office telegram No. 957 of November 26,
Repeated for information Saving to:

Washington
Paris
Budapest
UK Del NATO

Your telegram No. 1681: Hungary.

The report will be circulated tomorrow or Saturday. I will then telegraph any modifications or amplifications which may be necessary to the summary in my telegram No. 764. I do not expect these to be substantial.

Please repeat Saving to Budapest, Paris, UK Del NATO as my telegrams Nos. 18, 324, 251 respectively.

[Repeated as requested]

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United Nations Department
Information Policy Department
Information Research Department
News Department

ADVANCE COPIES
Private Secretary
Sir F. Hoyer Millar
Mr. O'Neill
Head of Northern Department
Resident Clerk

8888

27 NOV 1959

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1959

N

NORTHERN DEPARTMENT

HUNGARY

N H10110/83

FROM Sir Pearson Dixon
New York.

CONFIDENTIAL

No. 967.

Dated November 27th, 1959

Received in Registry— November 30th, 1959

Summary of Sir Leslie Munro's report on Hungary.

References to former relevant papers

-/82

-/166.

MINUTES

A.) Sir New York 968 of November 27th.

We have now rec'd. the full text of Sir L. Munro's report in a U.N. document.

(Print)

(How disposed of)

(Action completed)	(Index)
P.D. 2/12/59	12/1/61

References to later relevant papers

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RECEIVED IN ARCHIVES
28 NOV 1959
NH1010/83

FROM NEW YORK TO FOREIGN OFFICE
(United Kingdom Mission to the United Nations)

En Clair

DEPARTMENTAL DISTRIBUTION

Sir P. Dixon
No. 967
November 27, 1959

D: 5.52 p.m. November 27, 1959
R: 6.27 p.m. November 27, 1959

IMMEDIATE

Addressed to Foreign Office telegram No. 967 of November 27.
Repeated for information to Budapest
and Saving to Washington, Paris and Ukdel N.A.T.O.

My telegram No. 957: Hungary.

NH1010/82

Sir Leslie Munro's report was released this morning.

2. For a summary of the first half of the report please see my telegram No. 764 down to the words "normalizing the situation" in paragraph 3.

766

3. The report goes on to note that trials and executions in the past year have not attracted the same attention as previously. It was possible to hope that time itself had set a term to repressive action against the patriots of 1956. But it should not be forgotten that those who had previously been sentenced were still suffering various terms of confinement. The amnesty of April 2 was partial and the greater number of those sentenced for participating in the uprising of 1956 were deliberately excluded. There is cumulative evidence that trials have continued. There were reports of a trial in Ujpest which resulted in executions carried out on or about August 13. Another major trial of young people appears to have been held in February and March. There have been recent disturbing reports about the imminent possibility of further executions. Sir L. Munro quotes Mr. Kadar's denial of these reports of October 13 and continues as follows: "Mr. Kadar's denial is to be welcomed. Nevertheless the terms of Mr. Kadar's denial do little to establish the true facts as to the circumstances and outcome of the trials consequent upon the uprising, including that of the young people held earlier this year. It is for the Hungarian authorities to allow the true facts to be known, and to afford facilities for their assertions to be verified by giving their assent to the visit to Budapest of the United Nations representative."

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4. After criticizing Hungarian legal procedures and the position of the trades unions, Sir Leslie Munro concludes as follows: "It had been my hope in assuming the office of United Nations Special Representative on the question of Hungary that, in the course of the year, the Hungarian authorities would see fit to take such measures as would warrant a report of significant developments, within the terms of the resolutions of the General Assembly on the question of Hungary, which would be indicative of at least a trend in the direction of conditions consonant with the purport of those resolutions. That the present report continues the theme of previous reports is entirely the responsibility of the Hungarian authorities. No response has been forthcoming such as may reasonably be expected of a member of the Organization concerned to promote the purposes of the Organization and to act in accordance with its principles".

Foreign Office please repeat to Budapest as my telegram No. 16 and Saving to Paris and Ukdel N.A.T.O. as my telegrams Nos. 325 and 252 respectively.

[Repeated as requested].

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Northern Department	Private Secretary
United Nations Department	Sir P. Gore Booth
Information Policy Department	Head of Northern Department
Information Research Department	Head of News Department
News Department	Resident Clerk

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28 NOV 1959
NH1011/83(A)

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FROM NEW YORK TO FOREIGN OFFICE

(United Kingdom Mission to the United Nations)

Cypher/OTP

DEPARTMENTAL DISTRIBUTION

Sir P. Dixon
No. 968
November 27, 1959.

D: 6.04 p.m. November 27, 1959.
R: 6.37 p.m. November 27, 1959.

IMMEDIATE
CONFIDENTIAL

Addressed to Foreign Office telegram No. 968 of November 27,
Repeated for information Saving to:

Budapest Washington Paris
UKDel NATO

NH1011/0

My immediately preceding telegram: Hungary.

Sir L. Munro's report contains nothing sensational, but the material which he has been able to collect is competently presented and should provide delegations with the right kind of material for their speeches. The two points which emerge most strongly are

(a) the refusal of the Soviet and Hungarian authorities to cooperate with the United Nations representative;

(b) the accumulation of reports of continued repression, which cannot be confirmed individually because the Hungarian Government prevents the facts being known, but which taken together show that the regime imposed from outside still has to protect itself by imprisoning and executing its opponents.

Foreign Office please pass Saving to Budapest, Paris and UKDel NATO as my telegrams Nos. 19, 326, and 253 respectively.

[Repeated as requested]

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Information Policy Department

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Sir P. Gore Booth
Mr. Brain
Head of Northern Department
Resident Clerk

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1959

N

NORTHERN DEPARTMENT

HUNGARY

N H10110/84

FROM U.K. Mission to U.N., New York.

No. 10621/166/59.

Dated November 18th, 1959.

Received November 26th, 1959.

SUBJECT:

The fuss in the U.N. around the so-called "Hungarian Question".

References

MINUTES

[illegible] 1/12

U.N. ~~Dept.~~ [illegible] 2/12

I.R.~~D~~. Copy taken [illegible] 4/12

Research Dept (~~E.E. Section~~) JRB 8/12

(Printing Instructions)

(Outward Action)

(Action completed)	(Main Indexed)
P.[illegible] 9/12/59	[illegible] 12/1/61

Northern Dept.
MCA
Mr. McAlpine 24.11
Soviet Section
TM 24/11 23/11

99 PARK AVENUE,
NEW YORK 16, N.Y.

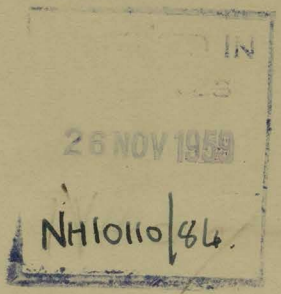
10621/166/59 November 18, 1959

Unofficial translation

With the Compliments of the

United Kingdom Mission

to the United Nations



Foreign Office,
London.

IN
26 NOV 1959
NH10110/84.

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10621/166/59

Unofficial translation
November 16, 1959.

THE FUSS IN THE UNITED NATIONS AROUND THE SO CALLED HUNGARIAN QUESTION

The "New York Times" correspondent at the United Nations T. Hamilton reports, referring to "authoritative sources", that the United States, Britain, France and other Western powers have decided to insist upon this session of the General Assembly discussing the so called Hungarian question. As it appears from the correspondent's report, now the only concern of the delegations of the Western powers is how to make it so as to drag the provocative "Hungarian question" into the General Assembly and at the same time not to pass for advocates of the "cold war".

The Soviet delegation cosiders it necessary to state in this connection that the efforts of the Western powers to include the non-existent Hungarian question in the agenda of the XIV session of the General Assembly are nothing but an attempt at reviving inside the United Nations the atmosphere of the "cold war".

Apparently, certain circles in the West would by no means reconcile themselves with the relaxation of international tension that has commenced. These circles clearly want to reverse the march of events and to undermine the spirit of co-operation established as a result of the meeting in Camp David.

The attempts to raise fuss around the Hungarian question are obviously being made in order to use the General Assembly for the purpose of straining relations between states. At the same time the delegations of the Western powers are seeking to divert by this step the attention of the General Assembly from the solution of most important questions placed on its agenda, to undermine the spirit of co-operation as a result of which the First committee, for example, recently adopted with unanimity the resolution on complete and general disarmament. The hue and cry around the Hungarian question testifies to the intention of the Western powers to continue to grossly violate the principles of the United Nations Charter, which can only strike a new blow at the prestige of the United Nations.

The Soviet delegation holds that the duty of all those who are genuinely seeking a further invigoration of the international climate is to prevent the revival of the atmosphere of the "cold war" in the United Nations and not to allow the General Assembly to be distracted from the solution of urgent important international issues in the interests of maintaining and strengthening universal peace.

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1959

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NORTHERN DEPARTMENT

HUNGARY

N 1011O/85

FROM Chancery, U.K. Mission to U.N., New York. to Northern Department.

No. 1062/185/59.

Dated November 25th, 1959

Received November 30th, 1959.

SUBJECT:

Encloses the text of Sir Pierson Dixon's Statement on Hungary made in the General Committee of U.N. on November 24th.

References

MINUTES

2/12

U.N. Dept.

1/12

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(Outward Action)

(Action completed)	(Main Indexed)
P.D. 4/12/59	12/1/61

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UNITED KINGDOM MISSION
to the UNITED NATIONS,
NEW YORK.

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UNCLASSIFIED

RECEIVED IN ARCHIVES
30 NOV 1959
NH1011/85.

No. 10621/185/59

25 November, 1959

Dear Department,

We enclose the text of Sir Pierson Dixon's Statement on Hungary in the General Committee on November 24.

2. We are sending copies of this letter to the Chanceries in Budapest, Washington, Paris and U.K. Delegation NATO.

Yours ever,

CHANCERY

Northern Department,
Foreign Office,
LONDON, SW.1.

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A.

HUNGARY

The United Kingdom will support the inscription on the agenda of the item entitled "the question of Hungary".

The validity of the request for this item has of course been put beyond any doubt by the letter addressed to the Secretary-General on November 20 by my United States colleague (document A/4292). In our opinion the previous request for an item by Sir Leslie Munro, a distinguished former president of the General Assembly, the duly appointed U.N. Special Representative on the question of Hungary, was also fully in order. We consider that the U.N. Representative was fully entitled to take this initiative.

Since this involves an important point of principle, which has been touched on by previous speakers, I should like to make our position clear. It has been argued that the rules of procedure are not clear on this point. It has been argued that his request is in blatant contradiction to rules of procedure.

It has been argued that the U.N. Special Representative is not entitled to request the inscription of an "additional" item on our agenda in accordance with rule 15 of the rules of procedure. I do not think that this argument can be sustained. I would ask the Committee to bear with me for a few minutes while I explain our view. To my mind there can be no doubt that Sir Leslie Munro is entitled to act as a "subsidiary organ of the U.N."

He was appointed by the General Assembly's resolution of December 12, 1958 "to represent the U.N. for the purpose of reporting to member states or to the General Assembly on significant developments relating to the implementation of the resolutions of the General Assembly on Hungary". Sir Leslie Munro thus received a specific mandate from the General Assembly and is clearly entitled to avail himself of the facilities provided in our rules of procedure for a subsidiary organ of the Assembly.

A further question has been raised whether a subsidiary organ of the Assembly is entitled to request inscription of an additional item under rule 15 of our rules of procedure. In order to deal adequately with this point we must look carefully at the three rules, rules 13, 14 and 15 which govern the inscription of items on our agenda.

Rule 13 deals with the provisional agenda to be drawn up by the Secretary-General at least 60 days before the opening of the Session. It specifically provides in sub-paragraph (b) that reports of subsidiary organs of the General Assembly may be included in the provisional agenda.

Rule 14 deals with "supplementary" items, that is to say items whose inscription is requested at least 30 days before

/the opening of

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the opening of the Session. This rule restricts the right to propose supplementary items to "any member or principal organ of the U.N. or the Secretary-General."

This is not, however, the rule under which Sir Leslie Munro has put forward his request for an item. He has availed himself of rule 15, which provides for the inscription of "additional items of an important and urgent character proposed for inclusion in the agenda less than 30 days before the opening of a regular session or during a regular session." Unlike rule 14, rule 15 is not restrictive, that is to say it does not provide that only members or principal organs of the U.N. or the Secretary-General may request inscription.

There is, I think, a clear implication that the opportunity provided by rule 15 is open to all those, including subsidiary organs of the General Assembly, who are entitled under rule 13 to propose items for the provisional agenda. If it had been the intention of the General Assembly in drawing up these rules of procedure to restrict the use of rule 15 in the same way as the use of rule 14, then this restriction obviously would have been specified as it is in the text of rule 14.

There is I believe a good reason why rule 15, dealing with additional items, was more widely drawn than rule 14, dealing with supplementary items. Most of the bodies whose reports have to be considered by the General Assembly are usually able to arrange for the relevant items to be included in the provisional agenda 60 days before the opening of the Session, that is, they are usually able to avail themselves of rule 13.

It was therefore only necessary to give a special power to propose supplementary items under rule 14 to entities which might not be in this position or to which special consideration ought to be shown. But the rules of procedure clearly had to take into account the possibility that some of the entities listed in rule 13 might not be able to present their report in such a way that it could appear on the provisional agenda.

There might be good reasons, as I believe there are in this case, why the organ concerned was not ready to request inscription as early as 60 days before the opening of the Session. It could not have been the intention of the General Assembly that in those circumstances, a subsidiary organ of the Assembly should be debarred from presenting any report at all, however urgent or important that report might be. For this reason it can, I think, be assumed that rule 15 is intended to cover items of an important and urgent character which a subsidiary organ of the U.N. may wish to propose.

It has been argued that the item is neither important nor urgent. Despite what has been said I do not believe that there can be real doubt as to the importance and urgency of the present question. Its importance is obvious and the reasons why its discussion by the Assembly is urgent are also, I think, very clear. In its resolution on December 12, 1958, the General Assembly declared that the U.N. will continue "to be seized of the situation in Hungary in view of the fact that the Government of the U.S.S.R. and the present authorities in Hungary are disregarding the above mentioned resolutions of the General Assembly."

/We are now

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We are now far advanced into the 14 Session of the General Assembly and the request by Sir Leslie Munro has only just reached us. That is why discussion is urgent. I believe that Sir Leslie Munro was fully justified in postponing his request for an item until this late stage. We have all welcomed signs of relaxation of international tension and of improved relations between the Soviet Union and the Western Powers.

It was not unreasonable, I think, to hope that this improvement might have shown itself in modification by the Soviet Union and Hungary of their policy of refusing to pay attention to the resolutions of the General Assembly on Hungary, and in a decision to co-operate with the General Assembly's representative.

Sir Leslie Munro might well have been criticised if as long ago as 60 days before the opening of the Session he had concluded that no such shift of policy was possible and had asked for inscription of an item on that basis.

He has rightly waited until almost the last possible moment in the hope that there would be a change for the better. He has at last, as he states in his explanatory memorandum, reluctantly concluded that this hope has not been realised. This Committee surely should respect and approve the reasons which led Sir Leslie Munro to postpone making the request for an item and which therefore compel us to treat the request as urgent.

It has been argued that all the matters involved are matters of Hungarian domestic jurisdiction, and discussion of them would be contrary to Article 2 (7). But this point is clearly foreclosed by last year's Resolution appointing Sir Leslie Munro and by the previous resolutions of the General Assembly on the subject.

It has been argued that the request for inscription of an item on Hungary is provocative and part of a campaign to increase international tension or to divert attention from possibilities of international agreement. In accordance with your request, at the outset of our meeting, I will not follow others in this discussion in going into the substance. I will merely say this. The United Kingdom is second to none in its desire to assist in the improvement of the international atmosphere. But we cannot accept the contention that the United Nations ought as a part of this process to abandon its concern over the question of Hungary when the resolutions which it has passed continue to be ignored.

At the second Emergency Special Session, at the 11th Session, at the 12th Session and again at the 13th Session, the General Assembly debated the question of Hungary and expressed its view in the form of resolutions. There is therefore nothing new or provocative in the present request for an item.

Sir Leslie Munro in requesting an item and we in supporting his request are merely acting in response to a stand which the General Assembly has consistently taken since 1956. In view of this fact it is, I think, we who are entitled to use the argument about the ending of the cold war and the relaxation of international tension.

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UNCLASSIFIED

No. 10621/185/59 25 November, 1959

Dear Department,

We enclose the text of Sir Pierson Dixon's Statement on Hungary in the General Committee on November 24.

2. We are sending copies of this letter to the Chanceries in Budapest, Washington, Paris and U.K. Delegation NATO.

Yours ever,

CHANCERY

Northern Department,
Foreign Office,
LONDON, S.W.1.

Downloaded by on22 May 2018 at 11:06:13

A.

HUNGARY

The United Kingdom will support the inscription on the agenda of the item entitled "the question of Hungary".

The validity of the request for this item has of course been put beyond any doubt by the letter addressed to the Secretary-General on November 20 by my United States colleague (document A/4292). In our opinion the previous request for an item by Sir Leslie Munro, a distinguished former president of the General Assembly, the duly appointed U.N. Special Representative on the question of Hungary, was also fully in order. We consider that the U.N. Representative was fully entitled to take this initiative.

Since this involves an important point of principle, which has been touched on by previous speakers, I should like to make our position clear. It has been argued that the rules of procedure are not clear on this point. It has been argued that his request is in blatant contradiction to rules of procedure.

It has been argued that the U.N. Special Representative is not entitled to request the inscription of an "additional" item on our agenda in accordance with rule 15 of the rules of procedure. I do not think that this argument can be sustained. I would ask the Committee to bear with me for a few minutes while I explain our view. To my mind there can be no doubt that Sir Leslie Munro is entitled to act as a "subsidiary organ of the U.N."

He was appointed by the General Assembly's resolution of December 12, 1958 "to represent the U.N. for the purpose of reporting to member states or to the General Assembly on significant developments relating to the implementation of the resolutions of the General Assembly on Hungary". Sir Leslie Munro thus received a specific mandate from the General Assembly and is clearly entitled to avail himself of the facilities provided in our rules of procedure for a subsidiary organ of the Assembly.

A further question has been raised whether a subsidiary organ of the Assembly is entitled to request inscription of an additional item under rule 15 of our rules of procedure. In order to deal adequately with this point we must look carefully at the three rules, rules 13, 14 and 15 which govern the inscription of items on our agenda.

Rule 13 deals with the provisional agenda to be drawn up by the Secretary-General at least 60 days before the opening of the Session. It specifically provides in sub-paragraph (b) that reports of subsidiary organs of the General Assembly may be included in the provisional agenda.

Rule 14 deals with "supplementary" items, that is to say items whose inscription is requested at least 30 days before

/the opening of

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This is not, however, the rule under which Sir Leslie Munro has put forward his request for an item. He has availed himself of rule 15, which provides for the inscription of "additional items of an important and urgent character proposed for inclusion in the agenda less than 30 days before the opening of a regular session or during a regular session." Unlike rule 14, rule 15 is not restrictive, that is to say it does not provide that only members or principal organs of the U.N. or the Secretary-General may request inscription.

There is, I think, a clear implication that the opportunity provided by rule 15 is open to all those, including subsidiary organs of the General Assembly, who are entitled under rule 13 to propose items for the provisional agenda. If it had been the intention of the General Assembly in drawing up these rules of procedure to restrict the use of rule 15 in the same way as the use of rule 14, then this restriction obviously would have been specified as it is in the text of rule 14.

There is I believe a good reason why rule 15, dealing with additional items, was more widely drawn than rule 14, dealing with supplementary items. Most of the bodies whose reports have to be considered by the General Assembly are usually able to arrange for the relevant items to be included in the provisional agenda 60 days before the opening of the Session, that is, they are usually able to avail themselves of rule 13.

It was therefore only necessary to give a special power to propose supplementary items under rule 14 to entities which might not be in this position or to which special consideration ought to be shown. But the rules of procedure clearly had to take into account the possibility that some of the entities listed in rule 13 might not be able to present their report in such a way that it could appear on the provisional agenda.

There might be good reasons, as I believe there are in this case, why the organ concerned was not ready to request inscription as early as 60 days before the opening of the Session. It could not have been the intention of the General Assembly that in those circumstances, a subsidiary organ of the Assembly should be debarred from presenting any report at all, however urgent or important that report might be. For this reason it can, I think, be assumed that rule 15 is intended to cover items of an important and urgent character which a subsidiary organ of the U.N. may wish to propose.

It has been argued that the item is neither important nor urgent. Despite what has been said I do not believe that there can be real doubt as to the importance and urgency of the present question. Its importance is obvious and the reasons why its discussion by the Assembly is urgent are also, I think, very clear. In its resolution on December 12, 1958, the General Assembly declared that the U.N. will continue "to be seized of the situation in Hungary in view of the fact that the Government of the U.S.S.R. and the present authorities in Hungary are disregarding the above mentioned resolutions of the General Assembly."

/We are now

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We are now far advanced into the 14 Session of the General Assembly and the request by Sir Leslie Munro has only just reached us. That is why discussion is urgent. I believe that Sir Leslie Munro was fully justified in postponing his request for an item until this late stage. We have all welcomed signs of relaxation of international tension and of improved relations between the Soviet Union and the Western Powers.

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1959

N

NORTHERN DEPARTMENT

HUNGARY

N H10110/86.

FROM Sir Pierson Dixon, New York to Mr O'Neill.

CONFIDENTIAL

No. 10621/192/59.

Dated November 29th, 1959.

Received December 2nd, 1959.

SUBJECT:

Difficulties encountered in the opening stages of the Hungarian debate

References

-/79
-/68.

(Printing Instructions)

(Outward Action)

(Action completed)	(Main Indexed)
P.D. 15/12/59	[illegible] 12/1/61

MINUTES

A) Chancery, U.K. Mission to U.N., New York, No 10621/192/59 of November 28th.

Although the voting on inscription was satisfactory, the difficulties referred to in para 5 are an indication of the lack of enthusiastic support for the debate on Hungary.

J. Reeve. 3/12

CMCA. 4.12.

U.N. Dept. [illegible]

J-116 54817—3E

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CONFIDENTIAL

UNITED KINGDOM MISSION
to the UNITED NATIONS,
NEW YORK.

(10621/192/59)

November 29, 1959.

2 DEC 1959

NH10 110/86.

Dear Con,

The opening stages of the Hungarian discussion here have involved us in quite a string of little difficulties, which fortunately we have so far been able to conceal from the public eye.

2. The chief of our problems has been the friction generated between Sir Leslie Munro and the Secretariat by the former's keen concern for the dignity of his office and the latter's distaste for having a Hungarian debate at all. Sir Leslie was cross that the President and the Secretariat made no attempt in the General Committee on November 23 to defend his right to request inscription of the item. After the meeting of the General Committee Cordier began to put about the idea that both the inscription debate and the substantive debate should be taken in Plenary on Wednesday, November 25. Cordier let it be understood that the Russians would not object to the rule which provides for a seven day interval between inscription and debate. Sir Leslie was much incensed at this idea, since he was committed to speak in Cincinatti, Ohio, on that day. Mr. Lodge also strongly opposed the idea, using the good argument that since Sir Leslie's report was not yet out, it was unreasonable to expect delegations to launch immediately into substantive debate. Mr. Lodge's real reason for opposing the Secretariat's idea was that the bunching together of the debate on inscription and the substantive debate would rob the item of its due share of publicity. The Secretariat eventually agreed that the inscription debate only should be held on November 25, and that the substantive debate should be next week.

3. Sir Leslie Munro was strongly advised by the President that he should not attempt himself to participate in the inscription debate. Sir Leslie felt, however, that if the Communist attacks upon his office which had been made in the General Committee

/were ..

The Hon. C.D.W. O'Neill, C.M.G.,
Foreign Office.

CONFIDENTIAL

were renewed in the Plenary debate on inscription, he should be there to answer them. Since the Secretariat refused to postpone the inscription debate until the afternoon, he announced his intention of rising at dawn in Cincinnati so as to be here for the morning's debate. When bad weather prevented him from carrying out this plan, he telephoned the President asking him again to postpone the debate until the afternoon. The President after some wavering decided that he could not accede to this request, but fortunately it did not matter since the item on the agenda of the Plenary before Hungary took up the whole morning so that the debate on the inscription of the Hungarian item could not in any case begin until the afternoon. By this time Sir Leslie Munro had arrived and was sitting on the side benches. I went over expecting to have to soothe him but found that he was fairly calm and indeed a little penitent about the trouble which he had been causing.

4. Sir Leslie's main anxiety is now that he may be in some way prevented from appearing on the rostrum during the substantive debate next week. In order to ensure that he will be given the floor, he proposed at one time not to make public his report in advance of the debate but to read it from the rostrum. The Americans, the Secretariat and ourselves joined in persuading him that this would be an unpopular move which would harm the debate, since delegations would be unwilling to take part until they had had time to study the report. Sir Leslie Munro eventually agreed to release the report in advance ~~xxxx~~ on the understanding that we would support his right to make a statement to the Assembly on his report. We now expect the report to be published before the end of the week.

5. The voting figures on inscription (51:10:15) were rather good. You may, however, have noticed that the three speakers who were permitted under the rules of procedure to speak in favour of inscription were rather oddly chosen (United States, United Kingdom and Spain, my telegram No. 948). I had not intended to speak at this stage. We and the Americans worked hard to find suitable Asian, European or Latin American speakers to fill the two places alongside the United States, but had little success.

/The ..

AH 10110/79

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The Philippines agreed to speak, but at the last minute the Philippine Ambassador appeared in some agitation, holding a news agency report which quoted remarks by a certain Congressman Weaver to the effect that the Government of the Philippines was thoroughly graft-ridden. The Philippine Ambassador explained that if he spoke on the U.S. side on the day of Weaver's remarks, he would get into trouble at home. Mr. Lodge, passing through our benches on his way up to the rostrum to speak himself, appealed to me to take part. I agreed. Simultaneously the French persuaded the Spaniard to speak. It was a close-run thing, and if the Communist speakers had not been long-winded we should have been discovered in considerable disarray. It is clearly going to be difficult to get enough respectable speakers to take part in the main debate.

6. The Americans have now given the draft resolution (my telegram No. 354 Saving as amended by my telegram No. 821) to likely delegations and asked them to sponsor. It looks as if some of last year's sponsors are likely to draw back, but there should be enough to make a respectable showing.

7. I am sending copies of this letter to Hood in Washington, Cheetham in Budapest, Jebb in Paris and Roberts at N.A.T.O.

Yours ever,

Pierson Dixon.

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(10621/192/59)

November 29, 1959.

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(Sd.) PIERSON DIXON

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CONFIDENTIAL

(10621/192/59)

UNITED KINGDOM MISSION
to the UNITED NATIONS,
NEW YORK.

30 NOV 1959
NH1011086(A)

November 28, 1959.

Dear Department,

With reference to Sir Pierson Dixon's letter to Mr. O'Neill of the above reference dated November 29 (incidentally the date should read November 27), the fourth sentence of the second paragraph should read: 'Cordier let it be understood that the Russians would not object to waiving the rule ...'. We apologise for this error.

We are sending copies of this letter to Chanceries at Washington, Budapest, Paris and the N.A.T.O. Delegation.

Yours ever,

CHANCERY

United Nations Department,
Foreign Office.

CONFIDENTIAL

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CONFIDENTIAL

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1959

N

NORTHERN DEPARTMENT

HUNGARY

N H10110/88

FROM Commonwealth Relations Office (com)

CONFIDENTIAL

No. 679.

Dated December 2nd, 1959

Received December 3rd, 1959.

SUBJECT:

Discussion of Hungarian Question at U.N.

[Tel. no 679 to Ottawa, etc. of Dec. 2]

References

MINUTES

A) Commonwealth Relations Office (com) of December 3rd.

J.P. 4/12

J.P. 8/12

(Printing Instructions)

(Outward Action)

(Action completed)	(Main Indexed)
P. D. 4/12/59	12/1/60

J–116 54817—3E

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CONFIDENTIAL

Outward Telegram from Commonwealth Relations Office

RE
3 DEC 1959
NH 10110/88

TO: OTTAWA
CANBERRA
WELLINGTON (ACTING H.C.)
PRETORIA
DELHI (ACTING H.C.)
KUALA LUMPUR
SALISBURY (ACTING H.C.)

RPTD: KARACHI, COLOMBO, ACCRA (BY AIR MAIL)

(Sent 14.25 hours 2nd December, 1959)

CYPHER

W. No. 679 CONFIDENTIAL

Repeated Air Mail to Karachi, Colombo and Accra.

DISCUSSION OF HUNGARIAN QUESTION
AT UNITED NATIONS

You will shortly receive copy of Foreign Office telegram No. 409 Guidance of 1st December whole of which you may use with Commonwealth authorities (to Delhi, Karachi, Colombo, Accra, Kuala Lumpur) except reference in second paragraph to need for United Western Stand.

2. On Hungarian credentials see my W. No. 374 Saving.

3. India, Ceylon and Ghana were among those who abstained during vote on inscription.

Copy to:-

D.II

C.R.O.	Mr. Watts
Foreign Office (Northern Dept.)	Mr. Reeve
Dublin	
U.K. Embassy Washington	Mr. H.S.H. Stanley
U.K. Mission to the U.N., New York	Mr. C.E. Diggines
Lagos	Mr. Fingland
Karachi (4)	
Colombo (4)	
Accra (4)	

DEFENCE AND WESTERN DEPT.
WES. 63/73/3

CONFIDENTIAL

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Outward Telegram from Commonwealth Relations Office

TO: KARACHI
COLOMBO
ACCRA

(Dated 3rd December 1959)

RECEIVED
7 DEC 1959
NH10110/88(A)

No. 255)
No. 153) SAVING UNCLASSIFIED
No. 128)

Addressed Karachi No. 255 Saving, Colombo No. 153 Saving, Accra No. 128 Saving.

My W. No. 679 of 2nd December.

DISCUSSION OF HUNGARIAN QUESTION AT UNITED NATIONS

My telegram under reference (to you by airmail) should have been addressed to you also, and not merely repeated for information.

Copy to:-

C.R.O.	Mr. Watts
Foreign Office (Northern Dept.)	Mr. Reeve

DEFENCE AND WESTERN DEPT.
WES.63/73/3

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1959

N

NORTHERN DEPARTMENT

HUNGARY

N H 10110/89.

FROM Sir Pierson Dixon
New York.

CONFIDENTIAL

No. 409 SAVING.

Dated December 3rd, 1959.

Received in Registry— December 4th, 1959.

Irish Delegation's uneasiness about the apparently indefinite time limit which has been placed on Sir Leslie Munro's mandate.

References to former relevant papers

– 168.

– 179.

MINUTES

Either of these two proposed amendments is acceptable but, as Sir P. Dixon has indicated, the first is preferable.

2. Tel to N.Y. despatched.

JWP 7/12

A.) New York 416 SAVING of December 5th

Copy to Mr. Walker C.R.O.

JWP 8/12

(Print)

(How disposed of)

Tel 1733 to New York. Dec 4th

A) 8(c) Mr. Walker, C.R.O. Dec 8th.

(Action completed)	(Index)
P.D. 8/12/59	12/1/61

References to later relevant papers

M4330 50830

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INWARD SAVING TELEGRAM

FROM NEW YORK TO FOREIGN OFFICE
(United Kingdom Mission to United Nations)

RECEIVED IN ARCHIVES
-4 DEC 1959
N
NH10110/89(A)

By Bag and Cypher/OTP

FOREIGN OFFICE AND WHITEHALL DISTRIBUTION

Sir P. Dixon
No. 409 Saving
December 3, 1959 R: December 4, 1959

PRIORITY
CONFIDENTIAL

Addressed to Foreign Office telegram No.409 Saving of December 3
Repeated for information to: Budapest

and Saving to: Paris UKDel. N.A.T.O.
Washington

My telegram No. 948: Hungary. NH10110-79a

The debate on Hungary is now almost certain to begin on Monday, December 7.

2. The Irish Delegation have told the Americans that they are unhappy about the last operative paragraph of the draft resolution (my telegram No. 354 Saving) which "requests the United Nations representative in Hungary to continue his efforts". They consider that some such phrase as "for a further year" or "until the Fifteenth Session" should be added. The Americans believe that there is a general reluctance to see Sir L. Munro's mandate indefinitely extended. They have therefore recommended to the State Department that a phrase of this kind should be added. We have suggested that if this is necessary the first of the alternative phrases mentioned above is preferable, since it carries less of an implication that there should be another debate next year.

-68

3. Please repeat by telegraph to Budapest as my telegram No. 17.

[Repeated as requested]

2222

CONFIDENTIAL

4 DEC 1959

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Registry No. NH1011O/89.

~~Top Secret~~
Secret
Confidential
~~Restricted~~
Open

4/12

Draft.

Telegram to :— U.K Mission N.Y.

No. 1733

(Date) 4/12/59

And to :—

Repeat to :—

Budapest 359

and Saving to

Paris 3128 SAV

U.K Del NATO 2575 SAV

Washington 5045 SAV

En Clair.

~~Code~~

~~Cypher~~

Distribution :—

~~F.O. U.N.~~.

Departmental.

Northern

UN.

Copies to :—

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- 5 DEC 1959

4/12/59

J. Reeve. 4/12

R.C. McAlpine 4.12.

~~EMERGENCY~~
IMMEDIATE } *
~~PRIORITY~~
ROUTINE
with ~~without~~ priority
~~DEFERRED~~

* Date and time (G.M.T.) telegram should reach addressee(s) .....

(Date) -4 DEC 1959

Despatched 9.32 P

[Security classification —if any] ✓

[Codeword—if any]

Address to U.K. Mission. New York

telegram No. 1733 (date) 4/12

repeated for information to Budapest and Saving to Paris, UK Del NATO, & Washington

NH1011O/89.

Your tel. No 409 Saving [4 Dec 3; U.S. draft resolution on Hungary]

We have no objection to ~~to~~ is acceptable.

Either ~~proposed~~ amendment [but we agree with the preference you have expressed.

JP 4/12/59

Prior to:
NorthernDept
UNDept

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN

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FROM FOREIGN OFFICE TO NEW YORK

(United Kingdom Mission to the United Nations)

En Clair and By Bag

DEPARTMENTAL DISTRIBUTION

No. 1733

December 4, 1959.

D. 8.39 p.m. December 4, 1959.

Addressed to U.K. Mis. New York telegram No. 1733 of December 4.

Repeated for information to: Budapest

And Saving to: Paris No. 3128
U.K. Del. NATO No. 2575
Washington No. 5045

Your telegram No. 409 Saving [of December 3: United States draft resolution on Hungary].

Either proposed amendment is acceptable but we agree with the preference you have expressed.

DISTRIBUTED TO:
Northern Department
United Nations Department

mnmnmn

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INWARD SAVING TELEGRAM
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7 DEC 1959

CB

CONFIDENTIAL

R. Dec 6 55

NH10110/89(A)

Department of State

By Bag

OUTWARD SAVING TELEGRAM

FROM NEW YORK TO FOREIGN OFFICE
(U. K. Mission to the United Nations)

Sir P. Dixon
No. 416 Saving
December 5, 1959

Despatched December 6

PRIORITY

CONFIDENTIAL

Addressed to Foreign Office telegram No. 416 Saving of December 5, repeated for information Saving to Budapest No. 20(S), Paris No. 338(S), Ukdel NATO No. 259(S), Washington No. 694(S).

Your telegram No. 1733: Hungary. N

The State Department disliked the Irish suggestion reported in my telegram No. 409 Saving and the Irish did not press it.

NH10110/89

DISTRIBUTION

Mission	
Foreign Office	3
Budapest	1
Paris	1
Ukdel NATO	1
Washington	40

7 DEC 1959

CONFIDENTIAL

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Archives N

RECEIVED IN ARCHIVES - 8 DEC 1959

CONFIDENTIAL

INWARD SAVING TELEGRAM

FROM NEW YORK TO FOREIGN OFFICE

(United Kingdom Mission to the United Nations)

By Bag
Sir P. Dixon
No. 416 Saving
December 5, 1959

DEPARTMENTAL DISTRIBUTION

R: December 6, 1959

PRIORITY
CONFIDENTIAL

Addressed to Foreign Office telegram No. 416 Saving of December 5

Repeated for information Saving to:-

Budapest
Paris
U.K.Del. N.A.T.O.
Washington

Your telegram No. 1733: Hungary.

The State Department disliked the Irish suggestion reported in my telegram No. 409 Saving and the Irish did not press it.

DISTRIBUTED TO :-

Northern Department
United Nations Department

CCC

CONFIDENTIAL

8 DEC 1959 FOREIGN OFFICE

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1959

N

NORTHERN DEPARTMENT

HUNGARY

N H10110/90.

FROM Chancery, Budapest. to Northern Department.

CONFIDENTIAL

No. 1017/110 "S".

Dated December 1st, 1959.

Received December 4th, 1959.

SUBJECT:

Summary of Hungarian press and radio comment on the Hungarian debate at U.N.

References

(Printing Instructions)

(Outward Action)

(Action completed)

P.D.

23/12/59

(Main Indexed)

12/1/61

MINUTES

J. Reeve. 8/12

Cmca. 13/12.

Mr. McAlpine

U.N. ~~Dept.~~ 17/12

C.R.~~D~~. Sec. 21/xii

J-116 54817—3E

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Copied to PUSD
FORD
Mr Falla
PR(2)

N

RECEIVED IN
ARCHIVES
4 - DEC 1959
NH1011/90.

CONFIDENTIAL

British Legation,

BUDAPEST

1017/110'S'

December 1, 1959.

Dear Department,

Press and radio comment on the debate on the Hungarian question at the United Nations has developed, with one possibly significant exception, on expected lines. The papers have reported accurately the developments as they have taken place; there has been a full statement of the arguments advanced by counsel for the defence, particularly in Dr. Péter's speeches; and this has been accompanied by abuse of the West for stirring up the cold war, interfering in the internal affairs of a country in which all is well, and using the Hungarian question as a smoke screen to conceal the West's own colonial crimes.

2. On November 19, Népszábadság quoted a Tass report that Sir Leslie Munro was insisting that the Secretary-General of the United Nations should put the Hungarian question on the agenda of the General Assembly. It also reported the parallel move by the United States delegate. The writer then went on to criticise the step as contrary to the development of peaceful relations and incongruous at a time when imperialist troops were decimating the African population of the Belgian Congo, when South Africa was developing towards Fascism, when half a million people had been murdered in Algeria, when the French were about to poison the air of the Sahara and when Cuba's independence was threatened by American intervention. On the following day the same paper printed an article entitled "Who is being sincere?". After a reference to the argument that attacks on Hungary revived the cold war, this article developed a more novel argument with a reference to the ambiguity of the Western powers' attitude towards Hungary. "They maintain normal diplomatic relations with Hungary but organise actions against the country and government they have recognised... They take the initiative to extend cultural relations, invite scientists to their countries and send their scientists to us, arrange exhibitions, and concurrently they poison relations between the peoples and support common criminals and traitors." The threat implicit in this article caused a certain amount of excitement in the U.S. Legation and among the Western journalistic community; but although the reference to Her Majesty's Government seems fairly clear we do not believe that at present our cultural proposals are likely to suffer.

Northern Department,
Foreign Office,
London, S.W.1

/On

CONFIDENTIAL

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3. On November 24 and 26 Népszabadság printed in full Dr. Péter's speech in the Steering Committee and at the General Assembly, and on November 25 both Népszabadság and Magyar Nemzet commented on the decision of the Steering Committee to put forward the item. The former argued that "the cold war circles" had "started a campaign against the easing of international tension" and stated that the peace-loving Hungarian people protested emphatically against use being made of Hungary for cold war aims. The latter referred specifically to the damage to the "Camp David atmosphere" which would be done by the revivel of the "non-existent Hungarian question". Népszava on the same day rather ingeniously printed two M.T.I. reports together; one on the debate in New York on the situation allegedly existing in Hungary and the other an account of how happily Hungarian workers had spent their last Sunday on bus expeditions into the hills, a chess championship, and a fashion show, while on November 26 Népszabadság had a more than usually sickening letter from "a plain Hungarian worker" criticizing the United Nations for the support they were lending to counter-revolutionary imperialism.

4. We are sending copies of this letter to Chancheries at Moscow, Prague, Bucharest, Warsaw, Belgrade, Bonn, Vienna, Washington, Paris, Sofia, the United Kingdom Delegation to NATO at Paris and the United Kingdom Mission, New York.

Yours ever,

CHANCERY

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1959

N

NORTHERN DEPARTMENT

HUNGARY

N H 1011 0/91

FROM Sir Pierson Dixon, New York.

No. 418 SAVING.

Dated December 5th, 1959

Received in Registry— December 8th, 1959.

Text of resolution on Hungary tabled at U.N. General Assembly on December 5th.

References to former relevant papers

(Print)

(How disposed of)

(Action completed) P.D. 16/12/59

(Index) 12/1/60

References to later relevant papers

MINUTES

This is quite a respectable group of sponsors but there are thirteen fewer than for last year's resolution. I expect we shall receive an account of the canvassing from New York in due course.

J.A. Reeve. 8/12

Mr. McAlpine
U.N. Dept.

CMCA. 9.12.

15/12

A) New York No 1046 of December 9th.

A satisfactory vote.

The 1958 resolution, a much stronger one, was passed by 54 votes to 10 with 15 abstentions.

J.A. Reeve. 11/12

Mr. McAlpine
U.N. Dept.

CMCA 12/12.

15/12

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RECEIVED IN ARCHIVES
- 8 DEC 1959

INWARD SAVING TELEGRAM

FROM NEW YORK TO FOREIGN OFFICE
(United Kingdom Mission to the United Nations)

BY BAG

FOREIGN OFFICE AND
WHITEHALL DISTRIBUTION

Sir P. Dixon

No. 418 Saving
December 5, 1959
PRIORITY

R. December 7, 1959

Addressed to Foreign Office telegram No. 418 Saving of December 5

Repeated for information Saving to Budapest
UKDEL NATO
Moscow
Washington
Paris

Hungary.

Following is text of resolution tabled today by: Belgium, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, Federation of Malaya, France, Haiti, Honduras, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Nicaragua, Pakistan, Philippines, Portugal, Spain, Turkey, United Kingdom, United States of America and Uruguay:

Begins

The General Assembly,

Having considered the report of the United Nations Representative on Hungary, Sir Leslie Munro, who was appointed by General Assembly Resolution 1312 (XIII) for the purpose of reporting to member states or to the General Assembly on significant developments relating to the implementation of the resolutions of the General Assembly on Hungary;

Deplores the continued disregard by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the present Hungarian regime of the General Assembly's resolutions dealing with the situation in Hungary;

Calls upon the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the present authorities in Hungary to cooperate with the United Nations Representative on Hungary;

Requests the United Nations Representative on Hungary to continue his efforts.

Ends.

bbbbb

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FROM NEW YORK TO FOREIGN OFFICE

(United Kingdom Mission to the United Nations)

ARCHIVES 10 DEC 1959 NH 10110/91(A)

En Clair

FOREIGN OFFICE AND
WHITEHALL DISTRIBUTION

Sir P. Dixon
No. 1046
December 9, 1959

D. 12.50 a.m. December 9, 1959
R. 1.13 a.m. December 9, 1959

PRIORITY

Addressed to Foreign Office telegram No. 1046 of December 9
Repeated for information to: Budapest
and Saving to: Washington, Paris, UK Del. NATO.

My telegram No. 1039: Hungary.

The resolution in my telegram No. 418 Saving was carried in Plenary this afternoon by 53 votes to 10 (Soviet bloc and Yugoslavia) with 17 abstentions.

Foreign Office please pass to Budapest as my telegram No.19 and Saving to Paris and UK Del. NATO as my telegrams Nos. 344 and 265 respectively.

[Repeated as requested.]

-.-.-.

10 DEC 1959

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1959

N

NORTHERN DEPARTMENT

HUNGARY

N H. 10110/92

FROM Sir Pierson Dixon, New York.

UNCLASSIFIED

No. 1039.

Dated Dec 8.

Received in Registry— 9/12/59.

Debate on Hungary begins at U.N.
Speeches on first day contained nothing unexpected.

References to former relevant papers

MINUTES

9/12

A). Sir Pierson Dixon, New York. 419 (S). Dec 8.

(Print)

(How disposed of)

(Action completed)	(Index)
RMW 10/12/59	12/1/61

References to later relevant papers

M4330 50830

Nov. 11.

385-86

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N

FROM NEW YORK TO FOREIGN OFFICE
(United Kingdom Mission to the United Nations)

En Clair

FOREIGN OFFICE AND WHITEHALL DISTRIBUTION

Sir P. Dixon
No. 1039
December 8, 1959

D: 1.05 a.m. December 9, 1959
R: 3.41 a.m. December 9, 1959

RECEIVED IN ARCHIVES
- 9 DEC 1959
NH 10110/92.

PRIORITY

Addressed to Foreign Office telegram No. 1039 of December 8.
Repeated for information to: Budapest.
and Saving to: Washington. Paris.
U.K.Del. N.A.T.O.

Hungary.

The debate began today. After an introductory statement by Sir L. Munro, Mr. Lodge and Mr. Peter (Hungary) spoke at length. I spoke this afternoon (text by Saving telegram) and was followed by Mr. Kuznetsov (U.S.S.R.). Today's speeches contained nothing unexpected. The debate will finish tomorrow.

Foreign Office please repeat to Budapest as my telegram No. 18 and Saving to Paris and U.K.Del. N.A.T.O. as my telegrams Nos. 342 and 263 respectively.

[Repeated as requested]

JJJJJ

9 DEC 1959

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RECEIVED IN ARCHIVES
10 DEC 1959
NH10110/92(A)

By Bag

INWARD SAVING TELEGRAM

FROM NEW YORK TO FOREIGN OFFICE
(U.K. Mission to the United Nations)

FOREIGN OFFICE AND WHITEHALL DISTRIBUTION

Sir P. Dixon
No. 419 Saving
December 8, 1959

R. December 10, 1959.

Addressed to Foreign Office telegram No. 419 Saving of December 8, repeated for information Saving to Budapest No. 22(S), Paris No. 343(S), Ukdel NATO No. 264(S), Moscow No. 123(S) and Washington No. 704(S).

Following is text of my statement in plenary on Hungary today.

Begins.

Our present debate has its origin in the resolution which the General Assembly adopted on the question of Hungary at its 13th Session. In that resolution the Assembly declared that the United Nations would continue to be seized of the situation in Hungary in view of the disregard of its resolutions by the governments of the Soviet Union and of Hungary.

The same resolution appointed Sir Leslie Munro of New Zealand to represent the United Nations for the purpose of reporting to member states or to the General Assembly on significant developments relating to the implementation of the Assembly's resolutions on Hungary. Sir Leslie Munro has carried out the mandate which was entrusted to him by the General Assembly and his report is now before us.

I would like to express the thanks of the U.K. Delegation to Sir Leslie Munro for the painstaking and conscientious efforts which he has made to carry out what must have been a frustrating task. It is clear from the correspondence quoted at the beginning of his report that Sir Leslie Munro made a sincere attempt to establish some kind of working relationship with the governments of the Soviet Union and of Hungary in order the better to carry out the task assigned to him by the United Nations.

It is also clear that he has done his utmost, in accordance with the General Assembly's resolution, to gather information on significant developments in Hungary. The information he has succeeded in obtaining has been presented carefully and objectively.

It was incongruous to hear the Hungarian representative this morning picking on points to which he took exception in recent public statements made by Sir L. Munro.

I think it will be generally accepted as natural and fitting that, given the task imposed on him by this Assembly, and given the

/frustrations he

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frustrations he has been faced with in carrying it out, Sir L. Munro should from time to time have given expression to his feelings, feelings which are deeply and widely shared.

This report, Mr. President, is not a cold war document. The assertions and explanations given by the Hungarian authorities - not to the United Nations representative but in the course of various public pronouncements - are fully set out in the report, even when Sir Leslie Munro felt bound, on the basis of other evidence, to disagree with them.

We owe a debt of gratitude to Sir Leslie Munro for a careful and convincing presentation in very difficult circumstances. He has certainly earned our confidence for the future. We hope that he will continue to act as United Nations Special Representative on Hungary.

(1) There are I believe three principal impressions which this report will leave in the minds of its readers. First there is the continued disregard by the Soviet and Hungarian Governments of previous United Nations resolutions on the Hungarian question.

The United Nations for three years has called upon those Governments to redress the wrongs done to the Hungarian people by the repression of the uprising in October 1956 by which the Hungarians spontaneously expressed an ardent desire for true liberty, which is still deeply felt by a courageous and noble people. It is right that the United Nations should maintain its concern with such aspirations which we all share and understand.

(2) The second impression left by the report is the rigid refusal of the Hungarian Government to extend any kind of co-operation to the appointed representative of the United Nations. Leaving aside the question of courtesy, I must say frankly that in the view of my delegation it is an anachronism at this time of improving international relationships, and in view of the circumstances in which it came to power, for the Hungarian Government to refuse to the representative of the United Nations even a minimum of information and facilities.

It is to be deplored that they should have consistently refused to accede to the request of the United Nations Special Representative to visit Hungary in order to obtain the information which the General Assembly has charged him to provide. If they have nothing to hide, why not admit him to see and report?

The Soviet and Hungarian Governments would, I believe, find the Assembly ready to welcome any significant sign that they were willing to apply the doctrine of peaceful co-existence and international co-operation to the resolutions of the United Nations on Hungary.

The contrary course which they have chosen is not only a check to the wishes of the United Nations. It is out of harmony with the general trend in international affairs on which, as this present session has amply shown, great store is being placed by the world community as a whole.

(3) The third main impression which this report leaves is that the Hungarian Government continues to maintain its authority by means of repression. Sir Leslie Munro in writing this part of his report, as he freely admits, has not in all cases been able to verify the information available. That is because of the persistent refusal of the Hungarian Government to allow him to visit Hungary.

/This, however,

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This, however, does not invalidate either the general picture or the details out of which the report is constructed. Much of the information rests on statements, or deductions that can legitimately be drawn from statements, made by the Hungarian authorities themselves.

Thus the fact that eminent Hungarian writers are held in prison, many on life sentences imposed for so-called crimes against the Hungarian people, has been admitted by the Hungarian Ministry of Justice.

The report shows that it is a matter of public knowledge, often resting on statements by the Hungarian media of public communication, that trials and executions of other members of the public are still continuing. Her Majesty's Government confirm their belief that this is so. We are disturbed to hear reports of the possibility of further executions and to read the statement of Mr. Kadar on November 30 that the Hungarian people "have still many accounts to settle with the counter-revolutionaries". That statement, with its sinister ring, has not passed unnoticed by the world community.

I may add that it is far from logical for the Hungarian Government to complain that Sir Leslie Munro's report is based on hearsay while at the same time refusing to allow its author those facilities which would have enabled him to verify his information.

Although individual news items may not be verifiable there emerges from the report a clear picture of continued trials and sentences. It cannot be a matter of indifference to the United Nations that the Government of a member state should continue to maintain its authority by the imprisonment and execution of its political opponents, and should use the overwhelming force which it possesses to discipline, dragoon and destroy those of its citizens who disagree with it or oppose it politically, all in disregard of the resolutions of this Assembly.

I turn to another important aspect of the Hungarian question. The Assembly has repeatedly called upon the Soviet Union to withdraw its forces from Hungary. As Sir Leslie Munro justly observes in his report, the withdrawal of these forces "would undoubtedly be regarded by all members of the United Nations as a contribution to the normalisation of the situation."

My Delegation were therefore very sorry to read reports of a speech made in Budapest on November 30 by Mr. Kadar in which he attempted to justify the presence of Soviet troops in Hungary and held out no hope of their withdrawal. Mr. Kadar went so far as to say: "Soviet troops are today in Hungary not for reasons of internal policy but exclusively on account of some still unsettled international questions." I am not the only one to be struck by the incongruity of that remark.

That was not the reason for which Soviet troops entered Hungary in 1956 and according to our information it is not the reason for which, despite the resolutions of the General Assembly calling for their withdrawal, they remain there today.

In all these circumstances, it has in our judgment been clearly right, Mr. President, that the United Nations should once again take the opportunity to express itself on the question of Hungary.

The debates on inscription in the General Committee and in Plenary and this debate in which we are now engaged, show that the

/opinions of

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opinions of the great majority of delegations remain firm. They continue to believe that the United Nations has a duty to concern itself with what has happened in Hungary.

The least we can do is to deplore the continued disregard of the Assembly's resolution and call upon the Hungarian Government to co-operate with our representative, Sir Leslie Munro. That is the purpose of the draft resolution which the United Kingdom has joined twenty-three other countries in sponsoring.

The resolution has been carefully drafted to avoid any language which might appear extreme or inopportune.

In taking this action, the General Assembly would not be endorsing some provocative move in the "cold war". It would merely be acting in harmony with its past decisions and the deep feelings which the tragedy of the Hungarian people has aroused all over the world, and which the draft resolution, in restrained language, seeks to reflect.

We hope that the resolution will, like its predecessors, receive the overwhelming support of the Assembly.

Ends.

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1959

N

NORTHERN DEPARTMENT

HUNGARY

N·H10110/93.

FROM Parliamentary Question by Mr. K. Zilliacus.

No. 72
Dated December 14th, 1959.
Received December 16th, 1959.

SUBJECT:

To ask the SOSFA whether he approved the statement made by the U.K.'s delegate to the U.N. organisation, in the debate on Hungary to the effect that disciplinary action by a ~~st~~ member state against its own nationals in contravention of the General Assembly's resolutions was a matter of concern to the U.N. organisation; and if he will make a statement

References

See MINUTES within

JWP 17/12

(Printing Instructions)

(Outward Action)

8(c) Budapest; U.K. Missions to U.N., New York; U.K. Del to N.A.T.O., Paris. Dec 16th.

(Action completed)	(Main Indexed)
P.D. 18/12/59	12/1/60

J–116 54817—3E

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NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

Minutes.

This question is being transferred to the Foreign Office. As it was originally down for the Prime Minister, there should be a supplementary note to cover the possible question: "I put this question down to the Prime Minister - did the Prime Minister approve this statement by the U.K. delegate?"

M.E.Edes
Parly. Office
December 10, 1959.

U.N. Dept. will be glad to supply supplementaries on the vote on apartheid, which is an obvious one to raise. They would be grateful however if Northern Dept. would prepare the answer and main supplementaries.

M.F.P

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supplementaries. I should think we should also be ready for a supplementary on our vote on the Tibetan resolution

Lewisbottom
10/12

Northern Dept.

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

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Northern Dept

N

Parliamentary Question

*72 **Mr. Zilliacus:** To ask the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, whether he approved the statement made by the United Kingdom's delegate to the United Nations Organisation in the debate on Hungary to the effect that disciplinary action by a member state against its own nationals in contravention of the General Assembly's resolutions was a matter of concern to the United Nations Organisation; and if he will make a statement. [*Transferred*]

2724

14. 12. 59

LA
Manchester Gorton

PREV: ADD: P. M.

11 DEC 1959

ANSWERED 14. 12 59
REPLY ATTACHED.

(Flag A)
(Flag B)

RECEIVED IN ARCHIVES
16 DEC 1959
NH1011/93.

(Flag C)

(93)

The passage in Sir Pierson Dixon's speech to which Mr. Zilliacus's Question apparently refers reads as follows:-

> "It cannot be a matter of indifference to the United Nations that the Government of a member state should continue to maintain its authority by the imprisonment and execution of its political opponents, and should use the overwhelming force which it possesses to discipline, dragoon and destroy those of its citizens who disagree with it or oppose it politically, all in disregard of the resolutions of this Assembly."

2. The Secretary of State approved the guidance contained in Foreign Office telegram No. 1433 Saving for Sir Pierson Dixon's speech but the full text of his speech was not approved in advance.

3. It is probable that the question is intended to provide an opportunity for pressing further the points made by Mr. Silverman and Mr. Callaghan when they interrupted Mr. Ormsby-Gore's explanation of our support for the Assembly's discussion on Hungary in the course of his speech in the debate on racial intolerance and discrimination in the House of Commons on December 7 (Hansard Col. 123-4).

4. Mr. Callaghan summarised the question on the lines that, given that a matter of domestic jurisdiction should not even reach the Assembly's agenda, why did Her Majesty's Government argue that this applied in the case of South Africa but not in the case of Hungary (or Tibet).

The Minister of State replied as follows:-

(a) Hungary:-

"I have tried already to show that the two cases are in no way parallel. The present situation in Hungary has come about as a result of direct interference in that country by a foreign power. That is not the case with the situation in South Africa."

(b) Tibet:-

"The Hon. Gentleman referred to Tibet. Tibet, again, is really quite a different case. The draft resolution on Tibet, which was laid before the General Assembly this year, dealt with alleged breaches of human

/rights

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rights in Tibet. It did not refer to the unlawful intervention by foreign forces. Therefore, we had to determine our attitude towards it on the same fundamental basis regarding Article 2(7) of the Charter as applies in the case of the resolutions on racial policies in South Africa. However, owing to its constitutional position, the question of Tibet presented certain unusual features and legal complications which cast some degree of doubt on the domestic jurisdiction.

"In, the almost certainly unique circumstances of this case, we came to the conclusion that we should abstain when the resolution was put to the vote."

5. An attempt may therefore be made in supplementaries to reopen the charge that the Government's interpretation of Article 2(7) is not applied consistently in these three cases. The Minister will no doubt wish to confine his answers to supplementaries as closely as possible to the terms of the Question, which is whether the Secretary of State approved Sir P. Dixon's speech on Hungary.

6. I submit a draft reply and notes for supplementaries, with which Far Eastern and United Nations Departments concur and which have been cleared with the Legal Counsellor and, in draft, with Mr. O'Neill.

Thomas Brimelow

(Thomas Brimelow).
December 11, 1959.

Mr. Bowker / Lewisham
11/12

Mr Profumo

Seen by Minister of State

14/12

NH 10110/93

72. **Mr. Zilliacus** asked the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether he approved the statement made by the United Kingdom's delegate to the United Nations Organisation in the debate on Hungary to the effect that disciplinary action by a member State against its own nationals in contravention of the General Assembly's resolutions was a matter of concern to the United Nations Organisation; and if he will make a statement.

Mr. Profumo: The United Kingdom representative's speech in the debate on Hungary at the United Nations was based on my right hon. and learned Friend's instructions. I have no statement to make.

14. 12. 59

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~~Northern Dept.~~
~~United Nations Dept~~

Northern Dept

Parliamentary Question

* 22 **Mr. Zilliacus :** To ask the Prime Minister, whether he approved the statement made by the United Kingdom's delegate to the United Nations Organisation in the debate on Hungary to the effect that disciplinary action by a member state against its own nationals in contravention of the General Assembly's resolutions was a matter of concern to the United Nations Organisation ; and if he will make a statement.

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LA
Manchester Gaston.

14. 12. 59

F.O. HAVE AGREED TO TAKE

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Mr. John Profumo.

DRAFT REPLY TO
PARLIAMENTARY
QUESTION No. 2
(MR. ZILLIACUS)
DECEMBER 14, 1959

The United Kingdom Representative's speech in the debate on Hungary at the United Nations was based on my Hon. friend's instructions ~~and represented the views of Her Majesty's Government~~. I have no statement to make.

References

Flag C

Debate on Racial Intolerance and Discrimination, December 7.

Hungary

Flags D and E

P.Qs (2) for November 18.

Tibet

Flag F

P.Q. November 11.

Apartheid

Flag G

~~P.Q.~~ (Written reply) December 7.

Debate Dec. 7; P.Qs Dec. 7, ~~Nov. 18(2)~~, Nov. 11, ~~Dec. 7.~~ ~~P.Qs Nov 18(2)~~ (att. at Question No. 51.)

Notes for supplementaries

1. As regards Hungary, the U.N. became seized of the situation there resulting from foreign armed intervention. The Assembly rightly retains its interest in the repression in Hungary which is a direct consequence of that foreign intervention.

1. We have been consistent throughout in our attitude towards the question of domestic jurisdiction. ~~The United Nations became seized of this~~ question because of foreign intervention in Hungary, and retain their interest in the repression in Hungary which is a direct consequence of that ~~foreign intervention.~~

2. The situation in Hungary is the direct result of foreign armed intervention while race relations in South Africa are entirely a domestic matter. As regards Tibet, the resolution adopted by the General Assembly was not concerned with foreign armed intervention.

3. As my ~~Rt. Hon. Friend (Mr. Profumo)~~ told the House on November 11,

"Our view is that it is not right for the

/General

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General Assembly to pass resolutions about human rights in individual states or territories". But that does not mean to say that violations of human rights consequent on foreign armed intervention are matters of indifference to the United Nations.

Hungary

4. The United Kingdom Representative was referring to the many reported acts of repression in Hungary against persons alleged to have taken part in the 1956 uprising. These reported acts are the direct outcome of the intervention by foreign troops in Hungary to reimpose on the Hungarian people by force a type of Government which they had manifestly rejected. It is precisely because the reported acts of repression are the direct outcome of foreign armed intervention that the Assembly is competent to express its concern about the situation in Hungary and to keep the situation under review.

5. As my Rt. Hon. Friend stated in the House on December 7, "... The United Nations, as a result of events in 1956, set up machinery through the appointing of a United Nations Representative, to enquire into what had happened in Hungary, including the armed intervention. We believe that there is still a reason for the Representative of the United Nations to visit Hungary..."
(Extract from speech by Mr. Ormsby-Gore in the debate on Racial Intolerance and Discrimination; Hansard, Column 123; December 7).

6. Her Majesty's Government are much disturbed at the persistent reports of trials and executions in Hungary which were reviewed in the report of the United Nations Special Representative on Hungary.

/We believe

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We believe that there is foundation for at least some of these reports.

Apartheid

7. There is no element of foreign armed intervention in South Africa and we have made it plain that in our opinion the United Nations have not been competent to pass resolutions about South African internal affairs.

Tibet

8. I would refer the Hon. Member to the speech made by my Rt. Hon. Friend in the Debate on December 7 when he said:

(a) "The draft resolution on Tibet, which was laid before the General Assembly this year, dealt with alleged breaches of human rights in Tibet. It did not refer to the unlawful intervention by foreign forces. Therefore, we had to determine our attitude towards it on the same fundamental basis regarding Article 2 (7) of the Charter as applies in the case of the resolutions on racial policies in South Africa."

(b) "In the almost certainly unique circumstances of this case, we came to the conclusion that we should abstain when the resolution was put to the vote."

Indians in South Africa

9. Somewhat similar considerations to those applying to the resolution on Tibet arise in connexion with the item on "Indians in South Africa" which has frequently appeared on the Assembly's agenda since 1946. There is doubt as to the existence of international obligations

/and

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and this led the Labour Government of the day to abstain on resolutions connected with this item up to 1951 and we have followed their example since.

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PW. NH 10110/93

?

The passage in Sir Pierson Dixon's speech to which Mr. Zilliacus's Question apparently refers reads as follows:-

> "It cannot be a matter of indifference to the United Nations that the Government of a member state should continue to maintain its authority by the imprisonment and execution of its political opponents, and should use the overwhelming force which it possesses to discipline, dragoon and destroy those of its citizens who disagree with it or oppose it politically, all in disregard of the resolutions of this Assembly."

(Flag A) (Flag B) 2. The Secretary of State approved the guidance contained in Foreign Office telegram No. 1433 Saving for Sir Pierson Dixon's speech but the full text of his speech was not approved in advance.

3. It is probable that the question is intended to provide an opportunity for pressing further the points made by Mr. Silverman and Mr. Callaghan when they interrupted Mr. Ormsby-Gore's explanation of our support for the Assembly's discussion on Hungary in the course of his speech in the debate on racial intolerance and discrimination in the House of Commons on December 7 (Hansard Col. 123-4). (Flag C)

4. Mr. Callaghan summarised the question on the lines that, given that a matter of domestic jurisdiction should not even reach the Assembly's agenda, why did Her Majesty's Government argue that this applied in the case of South Africa but not in the case of Hungary (or Tibet).

The Minister of State replied as follows:-

(a) Hungary:-

"I have tried already to show that the two cases are in no way parallel. The present situation in Hungary has come about as a result of direct interference in that country by a foreign power. That is not the case with the situation in South Africa."

(b) Tibet:-

"The Hon. Gentleman referred to Tibet. Tibet, again, is really quite a different case. The draft resolution on Tibet, which was laid before the General Assembly this year, dealt with alleged breaches of human

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rights in Tibet. It did not refer to the unlawful intervention by foreign forces. Therefore, we had to determine our attitude towards it on the same fundamental basis regarding Article 2(7) of the Charter as applies in the case of the resolutions on racial policies in South Africa. However, owing to its constitutional position, the question of Tibet presented certain unusual features and legal complications which cast some degree of doubt on the domestic jurisdiction.

"In the almost certainly unique circumstances of this case, we came to the conclusion that we should abstain when the resolution was put to the vote."

5. An attempt may therefore be made in supplementaries to reopen the charge that the Government's interpretation of Article 2(7) is not applied consistently in these three cases. The Minister will no doubt wish to confine his answers to supplementaries as closely as possible to the terms of the Question, which is whether the Secretary of State approved Sir P. Dixon's speech on Hungary.

6. I submit a draft reply and notes for supplementaries, with which Far Eastern and United Nations Departments concur and which have been cleared with the Legal Counsellor.

(Thomas Brimelow).
December 11, 1959.

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DRAFT REPLY TO
PARLIAMENTARY
QUESTION No. 2
(MR. ZILLIACUS)
DECEMBER 14, 1959

The United Kingdom Representative's speech in the debate on Hungary at the United Nations was based on my instructions and represented the views of Her Majesty's Government. I have no statement to make.

References

Debate on Racial Intolerance and Discrimination, December 7.

Hungary

P.Qs (2) for November 18.

Tibet

P.Q. November 11.

Apartheid

P.Q. (Written reply) December 7.

Notes for supplementaries

1. We have been consistent throughout in our attitude towards the question of domestic jurisdiction. The United Nations became seized of this question because of foreign intervention in Hungary, and retain their interest in the repression in Hungary which is a direct consequence of that foreign intervention.

2. The situation in Hungary is the direct result of foreign armed intervention while race relations in South Africa are entirely a domestic matter. As regards Tibet, the resolution adopted by the General Assembly was not concerned with foreign armed intervention.

3. As my rt. hon. Friend (Mr. Profumo) told the House on November 11,

"Our view is that it is not right for the

/General

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General Assembly to pass resolutions about human rights in individual states or territories". But that does not mean to say that violations of human rights consequent on foreign armed intervention are matters of indifference to the United Nations.

Hungary

4. The United Kingdom Representative was referring to the many reported acts of repression in Hungary against persons alleged to have taken part in the 1956 uprising. These reported acts are the direct outcome of the intervention by foreign troops in Hungary to reimpose on the Hungarian people by force a type of Government which they had manifestly rejected. It is precisely because the reported acts of repression are the direct outcome of foreign armed intervention that the Assembly is competent to express its concern about the situation in Hungary and to keep the situation under review.

5. As my Rt. Hon. Friend stated in the House on December 7, "... The United Nations, as a result of events in 1956, set up machinery through the appointing of a United Nations Representative, to enquire into what had happened in Hungary, including the armed intervention. We believe that there is still a reason for the Representative of the United Nations to visit Hungary..."
(Extract from speech by Mr. Ormsby-Gore in the debate on Racial Intolerance and Discrimination; Hansard, Column 123; December 7).

6. Her Majesty's Government are much disturbed at the persistent reports of trials and executions in Hungary which were reviewed in the report of the United Nations Special Representative on Hungary.

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We believe that there is foundation for at least some of these reports.

Apartheid

7. There is no element of foreign armed intervention in South Africa and we have made it plain that in our opinion the United Nations have not been competent to pass resolutions about South African internal affairs.

Tibet

8. I would refer the Hon. member to the speech made by my Rt. Hon. Friend in the Debate on December 7 when he said:

(a) "The draft resolution on Tibet, which was laid before the General Assembly this year, dealt with alleged breaches of human rights in Tibet. It did not refer to the unlawful intervention by foreign forces. Therefore, we had to determine our attitude towards it on the same fundamental basis regarding Article 2 (7) of the Charter as applies in the case of the resolutions on racial policies in South Africa."

(b) "In the almost certainly unique circumstances of this case, we came to the conclusion that we should abstain when the resolution was put to the vote."

Indians in South Africa

9. Somewhat similar considerations to those applying to the resolution on Tibet arise in connexion with the item on "Indians in South Africa" which has frequently appeared on the Assembly's agenda since 1946. There is doubt as to the existence of international obligations

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and this led the Labour Government of the day to abstain on resolutions connected with this item up to 1951 and we have followed their example since.

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NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

Registry No.

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Restricted.
Open.

Draft. Minute on P.Q. No. 2 (Mr. Zilliacus) due for reply on Monday, December 14, 1959

Flag A. –

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Flag C

Copy to U.N. Dept
F.E. Dept
Legal Advisers

14/12

The passage in Sir P. Dixon's speech to which Mr. Zilliacus's Question apparently refers reads as follows:-

"It cannot be a matter of indifference to the United Nations that the Government of a member state should continue to maintain its authority by the imprisonment and execution of its political opponents, and should use the overwhelming force which it possesses to discipline, dragoon and destroy those of its citizens who disagree with it or oppose it politically, all in disregard of the resolutions of this Assembly."

2. The Secretary of State approved the guidance contained in Foreign Office telegram No. 1433 Saving for Sir Pierson Dixon's speech but the full text of his speech was not approved in advance.

3. It is probable that the question is intended to provide an opportunity for pressing further the points made by Mr. Silverman and Mr. Callaghan when they interrupted Mr. Ormsby-Gore's explanation of our support for the Assembly's discussion on Hungary in the course of his speech in the debate on racial intolerance and discrimination in the House of Commons on December 7 (Hansard col. 123-4).

4. Mr. Callaghan summarised the question on the lines that, given that a matter of domestic jurisdiction should not even reach the Assembly's agenda, why did Her Majesty's Government argue that this applied in the case of South Africa but not in the case of Hungary (or Tibet).

/The Minister

Wt.58875/319. Mar.(6405)

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The Minister of State replied as follows:-

(a) Hungary:-

"I have tried already to show that the two cases are in no way parallel. The present situation in Hungary has come about as a result of direct interference in that country by a foreign power. That is not the case with the situation in South Africa."

(b) Tibet:-

"The hon. Gentleman referred to Tibet. Tibet, again, is really quite a different case. A The draft resolution on Tibet, which was laid before the General Assembly this year, dealt with alleged breaches of human rights in Tibet. It did not refer to the unlawful intervention by foreign forces. Therefore, we had to determine our attitude towards it on the same fundamental basis regarding Article 2(7) of the Charter as applies in the case of the resolutions on racial policies in South Africa. B However, owing to its constitutional position, the question of Tibet presented certain unusual features and legal complications which cast some degree of doubt on the domestic jurisdiction.

C "In the almost certainly unique circumstances of this case, we came to the conclusion that we should abstain when the resolution was put to the vote." D

5. An attempt may therefore be made in supplementaries to reopen the charge that the Government's interpretation of

/Article

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Registry
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Top Secret.
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Draft.

Reply
to Parliamentary
Questions No. 2.
(Mr. Zilliacus)
due for reply
on Monday,
December 14.

IN.

The U.K. Representative's speech in the debate on Hungary at the United Nations was based on my instructions and represented the views of H.M.G. I have no statement to make.

References

Debate on Racial Discrimination, December 7.

Hungary

P. Q.'s (2) for November 18

Tibet

P. Q. November 11.

Apartheid

P. Q. (Written reply) by Dec. 7.

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Notes for supplementaries

~~I cannot accept that~~

1. [I would like to make it quite clear that] we have been consistent throughout in our attitude towards the question of domestic jurisdiction.

3. As my hon. friend (Mr. Rodgers) told the House on November 11,

"our view is that it is not right for the General Assembly to pass resolutions about human rights in individual states or territories".

But that does not mean to say that violations of human rights consequent on foreign armed intervention are matters of international concern

2. ~~The point is that~~ the situation in Hungary is the direct result of foreign armed intervention while race relations in S. Africa are entirely a domestic matter. As regards Tibet, the resolution adopted by the General Assembly was not concerned with foreign armed intervention.

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARG

Hungary.

3.4 The U.K. Representative was referring to the many reported acts of repression in Hungary against persons alleged to have taken part in the 1956 uprising. These ~~events~~ reported acts are the direct outcome of the intervention by foreign troops in Hungary to reimpose on the Hungarian people by force a type of Government which they had manifestly rejected. ~~It~~ is precisely ~~for this reason~~ because, ~~that~~ these ~~events~~ are the direct outcome of foreign armed intervention, that the Assembly ~~has rightly decided that it~~ is competent to express its concern about the situation in Hungary and to keep the situation ~~in Hungary~~ under review.

reported acts of repression

5. "..... The U.N., as a result of events in 1956, set up machinery through the appointing of a U.N. Representative, to enquire into what had happened in Hungary, including the armed intervention. We believe that there is still a reason for the Representative of the United Nations to visit Hungary....."

As my Rt Hon Friend stated in the House on December 7,

(extract from speech by Mr. Ormsby-Gore in the debate on Racial Intolerance and Discrimination; Hansard, Column 123; December 7).

/3...

6. H.M.G. are much disturbed at the persistent reports of trials and executions in Hungary which were reviewed in the report of the U.N. Special Representative on Hungary. We believe there is foundation for at least some of these reports.

(76252) Hw.

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Apartheid,
~~South African Items~~

7. There is no element of foreign (armed) intervention ~~in the case of the situation~~ in South Africa. ~~and~~ We hold that the U.N. is not competent to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any State.

and we have made it plain that in our opinion the United Nations have not been competent to pass resolutions about South African ~~affa~~ internal affairs.

9

8. I would refer the Hon. mem. to the speech made by my Rt. Hon. Friend in the Debate on December 7 when he said

2. Tibet.

(a) A – B. (in minutes)

(b) ~~B – C~~ C – D (in minutes)

Indians in S. Africa

to those applying to ~~Tibet~~ the resolution on Tibet

9. Somewhat similar considerations arise in connexion with the item on "Indians in South Africa" which has frequently appeared on the Assembly's agenda since 1946. There is doubt as to the existence of international obligations and this led the Labour Government of the day to abstain on resolutions connected with this item up to 1951 and we have followed their example since.

~~I hope that this information will be helpful to your Council.~~

Ma

1. As regards Hungary, the U.N. became seized of the situation there ~~[in which there was]~~ resulting from foreign armed intervention. The Assembly ~~interested in the reports of continued~~ rightly retains its interest in the repression in Hungary, which is a direct consequence of that foreign intervention.

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1959

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NORTHERN DEPARTMENT

HUNGARY

N H·10110/94.

FROM Parliamentary Question
Sir Thomas Moore.

No.

Dated December 14th, 1959.

Received December 16th, 1959.

SUBJECT:

To ask the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether he has yet had a report from the U.K. representative to U.N. regarding the report of the U.N. Special Commissioner in Hungary; and if he will make a statement.

References

MINUTES

17/12

(Printing Instructions)

(Outward Action)

8(c) Budapest; U.K. Mission, N.Y.; and U.K. Del to N.A.T.O., Paris. Dec 16th

(Action completed)

P.D.
18/12/59.

(Main Indexed)

12/1/61

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PARLIAMENTARY QUESTION.

Hungary

51. **Sir T. Moore** asked the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether he has yet had a report from the United Kingdom representative to the United Nations regarding the report of the United Nations Special Commissioner in Hungary; and if he will make a statement.

Mr. Profumo: The report of the United Nations Special Representative on Hungary has been published and a copy is available in the Library. Her Majesty's Government's views on the report were stated by the United Kingdom representative to the United Nations during the course of the General Assembly Debate on Hungary on 8th December. A copy of the text of his speech is also in the Library.

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NH 10110/94 (59) 89

Northern Dept

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Parliamentary Question

*~~50~~ 51 **Sir Thomas Moore:** To ask the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, whether he has yet had a report from the United Kingdom representative to the United Nations regarding the report of the United Nations Special Commissioner in Hungary; and if he will make a statement. [*Deferred*]

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14. 12. 59

(Flag A)

(Flags B & C)

ANSWERED 14. 12. 59
REPLY ATTACHED.

Sir Leslie Munro's report, a copy of which is attached, was published on November 27. It is summarised in New York telegrams Nos. 764 and 967. The two points which emerge most strongly from the report are:-

(a) The refusal of the Soviet and Hungarian authorities to cooperate with the United Nations representative.

(b) The accumulation of reports of continued repression in Hungary, which cannot be confirmed individually because the Hungarian Government prevents the facts from being known, but which taken together show that the régime still has to protect itself by imprisoning and executing its opponents.

(Flag D)

2. The Secretary of State approved the guidance contained in Foreign Office telegram No. 1433 Saving for Sir P. Dixon's speech in the Debate on Hungary. The full text of Sir Pierson Dixon's speech, delivered on Dec. ~~November~~ 8, is attached.

(Flag E)

(Flag F)

3. On December 9, the General Assembly approved the attached resolution on Hungary, sponsored by 24 countries including the United Kingdom, by 53 votes to 10 (Communist Bloc and Yugoslavia) with 17 abstentions. In 1958 a stronger resolution was passed by 54 votes to 10 with 15 abstentions.

4. I submit a draft reply and notes for supplementaries which have been cleared with United Nations Department.

(93)

Thomas Brimelow

(Thomas Brimelow).
December 11, 1959.

~~Parliamentary Under Secretary~~

C Reid
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Mr Profumo.

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Hungary

51. **Sir T. Moore** asked the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether he has yet had a report from the United Kingdom representative to the United Nations regarding the report of the United Nations Special Commissioner in Hungary; and if he will make a statement.

Mr. Profumo: The report of the United Nations Special Representative on Hungary has been published and a copy is available in the Library. Her Majesty's Government's views on the report were stated by the United Kingdom representative to the United Nations during the course of the General Assembly Debate on Hungary on 8th December. A copy of the text of his speech is also in the Library.

14. 12. 59

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ANSWERED 14 DEC 1959
REPLY ATTACHED.

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Flags B & C

RECEIVED IN ARCHIVES 16 DEC 1959

(93)

Flag D

Parliamentary Question

* ~~49~~ 70 51 **Sir Thomas Moore:** To ask the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, whether he has yet had a report from the United Kingdom representative to the United Nations regarding the report of the United Nations Special Commissioner in Hungary; and if he will make a statement. [*Deferred*]

Def: 14th Dec. X. 12 59.

Sir Leslie Munro's report, a copy of which is attached, was published on November 27. It is summarised in New York telegrams Nos. 764 and 967. The two points which emerge most strongly from the report are:-

(a) the refusal of the Soviet and Hungarian authorities to cooperate with the United Nations Representative.

(b) The accumulation of reports of continued repression in Hungary, which cannot be confirmed individually because the Hungarian Government prevents the facts from being known, but which taken together show that the régime still has to protect itself by imprisoning and executing its opponents.

2. The General Assembly agreed to the inscription of the Hungarian item on its agenda on November 26 by 51 votes to 10 with 15 abstentions. The request for inscription was made by the U.S. Delegation in support of Sir L. Munro's recommendation. The United Kingdom Delegation supported the American request. The United Nations Secretariat are planning for the debate on Hungary to begin in Plenary on Monday, December 7.

3. As this is primarily a United Nations matter, it is appropriate that Her Majesty's Government's views on Sir L. Munro's report and on the Hungarian question generally should be expressed in the first instance in the United Nations, and that we should decline to comment publicly on the report beforehand. Sir Pierson Dixon was given guidance for his speech in Foreign Office telegram No. 1433 Saving.

4. I submit a draft reply and Notes for Supplementaries which have been cleared with United Nations Department.

R.D.C. McAlpine

for (T. Brimelow)
December 4, 1959.

Mr. O'Neill

Parliamentary Under-Secretary

C. O'Neill 4.12

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has not seen. I have added 3 words to the answer. N. Dept. concur but would want to check on the date on Monday. We cannot say that the U.K. Delegate will speak on Monday as the debate may well go on for more than one day.

Carruthers
4/12

Mr Tebbitt

The [illegible] of [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible].

[illegible]
5/12

What is our representative going to say?

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Northern Dept

Parliamentary Question

2512

*~~73~~ 76 **Sir Thomas Moore:** To ask the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, whether he has yet had a report from the United Kingdom representative to the United Nations regarding the report of the United Nations Special Commissioner in Hungary; and if he will make a statement.

U

Ayr + Bute Ayr.

30. 11. 59

Flag A

Sir L. Munro addressed a letter to the United Nations Secretary General on November 16 requesting the inscription of the Hungarian item on the General Assembly's agenda. A similar request was made by the U.S. Delegation on November 20 in support of Sir L. Munro's recommendation. The General Committee decided to recommend inscription on November 23 and this recommendation was endorsed in Plenary, by 51 votes to 10 with 15 abstentions, on November 26. The United Kingdom Delegation supported the request for inscription in the General Committee and in Plenary. The substantive debate on Hungary is due to be held in Plenary next week.

Flag B

2. In his telegram No. 957 Sir P. Dixon says that Sir L. Munro's report will be circulated today (November 27) or tomorrow. Sir L. Munro showed Mr. Beeley a draft of the report on November 3 and a summary is contained in New York

Flag C

telegram No. 764. Sir P. Dixon will telegraph any modifications or amplifications which may be necessary when the report is circulated.

3. I submit a draft reply and Note for Supplementaries which has been cleared with United Nations Department. A revised draft reply will be submitted after the report has been published if this should be necessary.

4. Previous Questions

Flag D

Sir Thomas Moore on November 18.

Thomas Brimelow

(T. Brimelow)
November 27, 1959.

(Mr. O'Neill is absent)
Mr. Booth

Clerk 27/11

Mr Allan has seen

Clerk
30/11

Weekend telegrams now attached
Clerk 30/11

RECEIVED IN ARCHIVES 16 DEC 1959

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Mr. Robert Allan.

DRAFT REPLY TO
P.Q. No.2512
(Sir Thomas Moore)
November 30,1959

Sir Leslie Munro's report ~~has only~~ was received by our delegation in N.Y. over the week-end, just ~~recently been circulated and~~ We have not yet had a chance of ~~we are~~ studying it ~~is being studied~~ [ ]. I ~~am~~ will put ~~arranging for~~ copies ~~to be made available~~ in the Library. When they are available PQ Nov. 18.

Notes for Supplementaries

Her Majesty's Government's views on the report will be stated when the question of Hungary is discussed in the General Assembly.

Revised draft. Approved by N. Dept.

"Sir Leslie Munro's report was received by our delegation in New York over the weekend. We have not yet had a chance of studying it. When they are available, I will put copies in the Library".

LWB 30/11

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Sir. John Rothnam

DRAFT REPLY TO
PARLIAMENTARY
QUESTION No. 49
(Sir Thomas Moore) checked
December 7, 1959

The report of the United Nations Special Representative on Hungary has been published and a copy is available in the Library. Her Majesty's Government's views on the report will be stated in the course of the debate on Hungary in the General Assembly which begins today. W

Previous Question

Flag E

~~Sir Thomas Moore,~~ November 18 (2)

Notes for Supplementaries

1. The United Kingdom Representative is likely to be called upon to state Her Majesty's Government's views in the Assembly very shortly. I hope the House will understand if I decline to say anything by way of comment on the report which may anticipate his statement.

2. Her Majesty's Government admire the patience and thoroughness which Sir Leslie Munro has devoted to his mission. We are glad to note from his report that he is prepared to continue in his appointment.

3. Her Majesty's Government fully support the resolution appointing Sir L. Munro and continue to support the purpose of his mission.

4. A copy of the text of the United Kingdom Representative's speech in the General Assembly debate will be put in the Library.

/5.

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5. Have Her Majesty's Government any more information about the reports of trials and executions in Hungary?

We still have no confirmation of these reports. M. Kadar has however informed the recent Hungarian Party Congress that the so-called counter-revolutionary leaders must be punished.

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Northern Dept.

Enter:

*~~57~~ **Sir Thomas Moore:** To ask the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, whether he has yet had a report from the United Kingdom representative to the United Nations regarding the report of the United Nations Special Commissioner in Hungary; and if he will make a statement. [*Deferred*]

+51

14 DEC 1959

MR. JOHN PROFUMO

The report of the United Nations Special Representative on Hungary has been published and a copy if available in the Library. Her Majesty's Government's views on the report were stated by the United Kingdom Representative to the United Nations during the course of the General Assembly Debate on Hungary on the 8th of December. A copy of the text of his speech is also in the Library.

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NOTES FOR SUPPLEMENTARIES No. 51

P.Q.s Nov. 18 (2) Att

1. H.M.G. much regret the persistent refusal of the Hungarian Govt. to accede to Sir Leslie Munro's request to visit Hungary.

2. H.M.G. admire the patience and thoroughness which Sir Leslie Munro has devoted to his mission. I am glad to note from his report that he is prepared to continue in his appointment.

3. H.M.G. are concerned at the continued reports of repression and executions in Hungary to which Sir Leslie Munro has referred. We believe that there is foundation for at least some of these reports. If, however, they are untrue, as the Hungarian Govt. assert, the Hungarian authorities could do much to allay public anxiety if they would allow Sir Leslie Munro to visit Hungary.

4. The debate on Hungary was not a cold war exercise. It was warranted, in H.M.G.'s view, by the Hungarian and Soviet Govts.' continued disregard of earlier U.N. resolutions.

5. H.M.G. share Sir Leslie Munro's view that the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary would be a contribution to the normalisation of the situation.

6. Domestic Jurisdiction (Article 2(7) of the U.N. Charter).

Is not H.M.G.'s attitude to the Hungarian question inconsistent with our attitude towards a debate on the S. African issue?

(a) See Supplementary Notes on No. 72 (hon. Member for Gorton's Question);

(b) The General Assembly's concern for the situation in Hungary stems from the intervention of a foreign /power

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power in the internal affairs of Hungary and thus falls within a different category from the discussion of the S. African item in the U.N.

7. H.M.G. would like to improve relations with Hungary but if this is to happen the Hungarian Govt. must realise that it must take steps to demonstrate its determination to respect the human rights of its countrymen.

8. Hon. Members must read the entire speech of the U.K. Permanent Representative.

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Mr. John Profumo.

DRAFT REPLY TO
P.Q. NO. 57
(Sir Thomas Moore)
December 14, 1959.

Approved by Mr. Profumo

(Flag G)

The report of the United Nations Special Representative on Hungary has been published and a copy is available in the Library. Her Majesty's Government's views on the report were stated by the United Kingdom Representative to the United Nations during the course of the General Assembly Debate on Hungary on ~~December 8~~ the 8th of December. A copy of the text of his speech ~~has also been placed~~ is also in the Library ~~as soon as it is ready available~~.

Previous questions

~~Sir Thomas Moore, November 18.~~
P.Q. Nov. 18. (2)

Notes for Supplementaries

1. Her Majesty's Government ~~are disappointed at~~ much regret the persistent refusal of the Hungarian Government to accede to Sir Leslie Munro's request to visit Hungary.

2. Her Majesty's Government admire the patience and thoroughness which Sir Leslie Munro has devoted to his mission. ~~We are~~ I am glad to note from his report that he is prepared to continue in his appointment.

3. Her Majesty's Government are concerned at the continued reports of repression and executions in Hungary to which Sir Leslie Munro has referred. We believe that there is foundation for at least some of these reports. If, however, they are untrue, as the Hungarian Government assert, the Hungarian authorities could do much to allay public anxiety if they would allow sir Leslie Munro to visit

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Hungary.

4. The debate on Hungary was not a cold war exercise. It was warranted, in Her Majesty's Government's view, by the Hungarian and Soviet Governments' continued disregard of earlier United Nations resolutions.

5. Her Majesty's Government share Sir Leslie Munro's view that the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary would be a contribution to the normalisation of the situation.

6. Domestic Jurisdiction (Article 2(7) of the United Nations Charter).

~~If questioned on whether~~ does not Her Majesty's Government's attitude to the Hungarian question ~~is not~~ inconsistent with our attitude towards a debate on the South African item, ~~it is suggested that the Secretary of State should reply~~ either

(a) ~~by reference to his reply to~~ see notes for No. 72. by the hon. Member for Gorton (Mr. Mikardo) supplementary questions on Question ~~2~~, ~~if appropriate;~~

or (b) ~~by saying that~~ the General Assembly's concern for the situation in Hungary stems from the intervention of a foreign Power in the internal affairs of Hungary and thus falls within a different category from the discussion of the South African item in the United Nations.

7 HMG would like to improve relations with Hungary but if this is to happen the Hungarian Govt must realise that it must take steps to demonstrate its determination to respect the human rights of its countrymen

8) Her Minister must read the entire text of the UK Permanent Rep. to Permanent Representative.

DRAFT REPLY TO
P.Q. NO. 57
(Sir Thomas Moore)
December 14, 1959.

The report of the United Nations Special Representative on Hungary has been published and a copy is available in the Library. Her Majesty's Government's views on the report were stated by the United Kingdom Representative to the United Nations during the courre of the General Assembly Debate on Hungary on December 8. A copy of the text of his speech has also been placed in the Library.

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(Flag G) Sir Thomas Moore, November 18.

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or (b) by saying that the General Assembly's concern for the situation in Hungary stems from the intervention of a fireign Power in the internal affairs of Hungary and thus falls within a different category from the discussion of the South African item in the United Nations.

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DRAFT REPLY TO
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(Sir Thomas Moore)
December 14, 1959.

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70

Secretary of State

You asked me whether we knew what Sir P. Dixon was going to say about Hungary.

F.O. tel. no 1433 saving at Flag D lists the points that he has been instructed to make. This telegram was approved by you, I am assured.

The Dept. have not had a full text of the speech.

W

A. C. Samuel
7/12

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1059

N

NORTHERN DEPARTMENT

NH10110/95

HUNGARY

FROM Sir Pierson Dixon, U.K. Mission to U.N., New York to M. C.D.W. O'Neill.

CONFIDENTIAL

No. 1062/230/59.

Dated December 18th, 1959.

Received December 22nd, 1959.

SUBJECT:

Discussion with Sir Leslie Munro with regard to what steps he should take with regard to the pursuance of his extended mandate.

References

(Printing Instructions)

(Outward Action)

Tel 60 SAVING to Budapest Dec 23

(Action completed)

T.D. 5/2/60.

(Main Indexed)

12/1/61

MINUTES

Sir Leslie Munro has told Sir P. Dixon that he hopes to discuss with Mr. Herter shortly, and with the Secretar of State in January the problems raised by the continuance of his mandate as U.N. Special Representative on Hungary. Sir L. Munro's immediate preoccupation is whether he should take some action in pursuance of his mandate in the next month or two. Although Mr. Hammarskjold has advised against doing anything before th Summit, Sir L. Munro does not wish to remain entirely inactive for several months, since he thinks this may lay him open to criticsm. He and Sir P. Dixon came to the conclusion that there were two possible steps which he might take in the near future (see paragraph 3 of Sir P. Dixon's letter). Sir L. Munro will no doubt discuss these possibilities with Mr. Herter. We do not know whether he will wait until he has also seen the Secretary of State before taking any action, but we should perhaps let him know our views soon.

2. I agree with Sir P. Dixon's arguments in favour of Sir L. Munro's taking whatever action he thinks necessary well in advance of the Summit. I would also see no harm in his publicising the fact that he has made a renewed approach to the Soviet and Hungarian Governments, if he decides to do this.

3. I suggest, however, that we might obtain the views of H.M. representatives at Moscow and Budapest before commenting on this letter. I submit a draft telegram.

4. We shall have to consider fairly soon what line to take with the Americans about the question of having another debate on Hungary at next year's Assembly. My feeling is that we should tell them soon that unless the Summit Talks go badly and are followed by a deterioration in East/West relations, we shall not again be prepared to acquiesce in any move to stage a debate; and that since we understand that Sir L. Munro does not wish to continue his mandate beyond this year our present view is that we should allow the Hungarian issue at the U.N. to die a natural death. This would involve, among other things, no action to appoint a successor to Sir. L. Munro and a settlement of the question of Hungarian

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credentials. We, however, are submitting separatly on this question in the light of Sir P. Dixon's letter of December 15.

Number of copies.....

Number of copies of enclosures.....

R.D.C. McAlpine

(R.D.C. McAlpine)
December 23, 1959.

U.N. Department.
~~Sir P. Gore Booth~~.

Para. 4 above: Depending on what transpires in relation to Sir R. Munro meanwhile, I doubt whether we shall want to raise this with the Americans before the Summit.

I have sent an abbreviated Savingram to Moscow & Budapest. CDR.
23.12.

CMCA.
29.12.

Mr Reeve -

See now NH 1016/1

2/2

CONFIDENTIAL

Enter/N Seen. Conca. 21/12.

(10621/230/59)

UNITED KINGDOM MISSION
to the UNITED NATIONS,
NEW YORK.

December 18, 1959.

22 DEC 1959

NH10110/95

Dear Con,

Sir Leslie Munro came to lunch with me yesterday to discuss what steps he should take in pursuance of his extended mandate as United Nations representative for Hungary. He was much put out by the inclusion of Hungary in the Outer Space Committee and inclined to blame the Americans, and to a lesser extent ourselves, for having cut the ground from under his feet by thus giving the Hungarian Government a certificate of respectability at the U.N. He thought this particularly unfortunate in view of the good debate and vote which there had been on the Hungarian item.

2. Munro said there seemed to him broadly three courses he could adopt:

(a) to make some form of public statement indicating his disapproval of the inclusion of Hungary on the Outer Space Committee;

(b) to take some action during the next two months in pursuance of his mandate;

(c) to take no action before the Summit Meeting.

He said that his natural preference was course (a) but he realised that this would be embarrassing to the U.S. and ourselves and would therefore not pursue it. He had seen the Secretary-General that morning and Hammarskjold's advice had been to do nothing before the Summit. He was, however, himself not happy at the idea of remaining entirely inactive for several months, and thought that this course would lay him open to criticism.

3. We discussed what action he might take in the next month or two, and concluded that there were two possibilities:

(i) a further approach for the record to the Soviet and Hungarian Governments on the strength of his renewed mandate; and

/(ii) ..

The Hon. C.D.W. O'Neill, C.M.G.,
Foreign Office.

CONFIDENTIAL

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(ii) some form of press interview in the course of which he would say that he intended to keep (or was keeping) watch on events in Hungary.

4. Munro said that he was disinclined to go on with the job after the end of the coming year since, apart from anything else, it was no financial asset because the obligations it imposed prevented him to some extent from pursuing other activities. He appeared to think that his responsibilities might be inherited by Belaunde. Munro is taking his problems very seriously and hopes to discuss them with Mr. Herter in Washington shortly, and with the Secretary of State in London in January.

5. It is impossible to foresee what action, if any, should be taken at the next session of the General Assembly with regard to Hungary. Much, clearly, will depend on the political atmosphere after the Summit. It is true that this year's debate and vote on the Hungarian item went better than we expected, and I think that the Russians were to some extent embarrassed. Nevertheless, unless the Summit talks prove a failure and there is a return to the cold war, I would hope that we could avoid a Hungarian item next year, if only because of the difficulty of dealing with it as an annual event (my letter of December 15). Even so, Munro will have to present some sort of report and I should have thought it best that he should take whatever action he thinks necessary in the near future well in advance of the Summit meeting, since if things go well at the Summit meeting it might appear provocative for him to take action afterwards. It would, I think, be logical that he should make a further approach to the Russians and Hungarians in the light of the views expressed in the debate, and of his renewed mandate, and I would see no harm in his publicising the fact that he had done so and that he had met with no response (on the assumption that this was so). It may well be that his report to the next General Assembly will for the most part be a record of his inability to take any constructive action because of the Soviet and Hungarian refusal to cooperate. This could lead naturally to a laying down of his mandate without any action being taken to appoint a successor.

6. I am sending copies of this letter to Caccia in Washington, Reilly in Moscow and Cheetham in Budapest.

Yours ever,

Pierson Dixon.

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CONFIDENTIAL

(10621/230/59)

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The Hon. C.D.W. O'Neill, C.M.G.,
Foreign Office.

CONFIDENTIAL

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(Sd.) PIERSON DIXON

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CONFIDENTIAL

(10621/230/59)

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/(ii) ..

The Hon. C.D.W. O'Neill, C.M.G.,
Foreign Office.

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(Sd.) PIERSON DIXON

CONFIDENTIAL

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And to :—

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Repeat to :— SAV 1577
Saving to:
UKMIS New York
Washington 5309 SAV

NH 10110

Sir P. Dixon's letter of December 18 to O'Neill, copied to you: [Hungary and the U.N.].

We should be grateful for your comments by telegram.

En Clair.
~~Cadex~~
~~Cypher~~
BY BAG

C.O.
23.12.

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No.60 Saving
December 23, 1959

Addressed to Budapest telegram No. 60 Saving of December 23
And Saving to Moscow No. 1761
Repeated for information Saving to U.K.Mission New York No.1577
Washington No. 5309

Sir P. Dixon's letter of December 18 to O'Neill, copied to you: [Hungary and the United Nations].

We should be grateful for your comments by telegram.

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1959

N

NORTHERN DEPARTMENT

HUNGARY

N H10110/96

FROM U.K. Mission to U.N., New York

No. 293.

Dated December 9th, 1959

Received December 15th, 1959.

SUBJECT:

Report on U.N. General Assembly Debate on Hungary.

References

MINUTES

A.) U.K. Mission to U.N., New York 294 of December 9th.

B.) U.K. Mission to U.N., New York No 295 of December 9th.

C.) U.K. Mission to U.N., New York, No 301 of December 10th.

17/12

Mr. McAlpine CMCA - 16/12.

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(Outward Action)

(Action completed)	(Main Indexed)
P.D. 22/12/59	12/1/61

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UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY - FOURTEENTH SESSION

REPORT ON DEBATE

From U.K. Mission New York No. 293
December 9, 1959

RECEIVED IN ARCHIVES 11 DEC 1959 NHIDNo 193

N XIII N A.

PLENARY SESSION: December 8 (morning)

Question of Hungary

Sir L. Munro, the United Nations Special Representative on Hungary, introduced his report (A/4304). He had delayed presentation of the report in order to avoid exacerbating the situation, which would have been the case if it had been presented in August or September. It was clear, however, that the General Assembly should consider the report at its present Session. His services would continue to be at the disposal of the United Nations if the General Assembly so decided.

2. Khrushchev's speech at the recent congress in Budapest in which he underlined the misdeeds of the earlier Communist regime in Hungary, and especially those of Rakosi, supported the account of the uprising given in the report. At the same congress Kadar had said that Soviet troops would remain in Hungary; this indicated a belief that "the large nations should discipline the weaker ones".

3. Lodge (United States) said Munro's report showed that there had been no basic change in the situation in Hungary; the Soviet troops remained there, acts of repression continued and the Soviet and Hungarian governments continued to defy the United Nations resolutions. The spirit of Camp David could not be used to ignore or condone the events in Hungary, nor could the blame for these events be shifted on to Rakosi. It was clear that many segments of the Hungarian population were opposed to the present regime and that foreign troops were needed to bolster its authority. Despite reassurances given by Hungarian officials, trials and executions continued to take place in Hungary and that country was sealed off from any contact with the free world. The United States and 23 other states were introducing a resolution (A/L.273) which, after considering the Munro report, deplored the continued disregard by the Soviet and Hungarian Governments of the General Assembly resolutions on Hungary; called on the Soviet and Hungarian Governments to co-operate with the United Nations Special Representative on Hungary and requested that Representative to continue his efforts.

4. Peter (Hungary) made a long speech whose theme was that the events in Hungary had been the outcome of subversive actions by the United States. A hopeful sign was that, in the vote in favour of inscribing the item, ten fewer states than in 1958 had voted for inscription.

5. He would have been fully entitled not to participate in a debate which touched on a purely domestic matter, but was doing so to show Hungary's readiness to comply with resolutions of the United Nations, provided that they did not interfere in domestic affairs. The Munro report, and especially the passage stating that the objective was "to achieve political independence for Hungary", reflected American policy on Eastern Europe. Ever since the Second World War the United States had endeavoured to undermine the social and political systems of Eastern Europe, and

/in 1956

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in 1956 had provided both economic and military material for the counter-revolutionary forces in Hungary. Because of the backwardness of the economy in Hungary when the socialist regime had come to power, the regime had had to undertake a programme of rapid industrialisation, and at that time insufficient attention had been paid to the human side of the problem. Resentment had accumulated and incendiary elements, incited by foreign agitators, had taken advantage of the situation to the extent that Hungary in 1956 could have been the "powder keg of Europe". Soviet troops were in Hungary before 1956 under the provisions of the Warsaw Pact but had been called in to help in crushing the counter-revolution entirely under the responsibility and jurisdiction of the Hungarian Government. Attempts to get these troops withdrawn from Hungary reflected NATO strategy.

6. The Munro report contained much false information; comments on the imprisonment, and execution, of young Hungarians were part of an organised campaign by the State Department. By his report, and his public utterances, Sir L. Munro had disqualified himself as a representative of the General Assembly and the United Nations should ignore his report.

7. The debate was adjourned.

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UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY - FOURTEENTH SESSION

REPORT ON DEBATE

From U.K. Mission New York No. 294
December 9, 1959

RECEIVED IN
1 DEC 1959
NH1011/93(A)

PLENARY - December 8 (Afternoon)

Question of Hungary (A/4304) (A/L.273)

Tsiang (China) said that the Soviet and Hungarian governments had consistently ignored United Nations resolutions on Hungary. The Soviet policy of peaceful co-existence clearly excluded those governments which it did not like e.g. the Nagy government; it was impossible to describe a government reflecting the political leanings of Nagy as being reactionary.

2. Later in the debate Moreira (Portugal) spoke in similar terms.

3. Freitas-Valle (Brazil), who supported the resolution, said that although the present debate was unlikely to achieve a solution of the Hungarian question, the United Nations must continue to be seized of the question.

4. Schurmann (Netherlands) said that the report showed that repression continued in Hungary. The United Nations was competent to discuss the question of Hungary, but despite this the Soviet and Hungarian governments maintained their defiance of General Assembly resolutions and refused the United Nations Special Representative admission to Hungary. If the Soviet and Hungarian authorities wished to act in the spirit of Camp David, they should change this attitude.

5. Later in the debate Nesbitt (Canada), Ortona (Italy), Aly Khan (Pakistan), Kamil (Malaya) and Shaha (Nepal) spoke on similar lines, Nesbitt adding that if the Hungarian authorities wished their statements to be believed they should allow an impartial body e.g. the International Red Cross, to make an independent enquiry in Hungary.

6. Sir P. Dixon (United Kingdom) said that Sir L. Munro had made painstaking and conscientious efforts to carry out what must have been a frustrating task and should continue to act as the United Nations Special Representative. Despite his frustrations, the report contained interesting information which had been carefully and objectively set out; it showed that the Soviet and Hungarian governments continued to disregard United Nations resolutions on Hungary and that the Hungarian government rigidly refused to extend any cooperation to the Special Representative. The Hungarian government also continued its repressive measures and it was possible that further executions would take place. The reason recently given by Kadar for the continued presence of Soviet troops in Hungary was specious.

/7. The

7. The United Nations had a duty to continue to express its concern at what had happened in Hungary; believing this, the United Kingdom had joined in co-sponsoring the resolution which was in restrained terms.

8. Later in the debate Berard (France) spoke in the same vein, adding that Kadar's speech before the congress at Budapest had gone out of its way to demonstrate the Hungarian Government's rejection of the stand of the United Nations on Hungary.

9. Kuznetsov (Soviet Union) spoke on the same lines as Peter (Report on Debate No. [illegible]), adding that the West had ignored Khrushchev's proposal that foreign troops based in the Warsaw Pact and NATO countries be simultaneously withdrawn. Later in the debate Budo (Albania) echoed the Soviet line.

10. Amadeo (Argentina) said that the moral authority of the United Nations had been placed in jeopardy by the continued disregard of United Nations resolutions on Hungary by the Soviet and Hungarian governments. The present draft resolution was the least action that the United Nations could take.

11. The debate was then adjourned.

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UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY - FOURTEENTH SESSION

REPORT ON DEBATE

RECEIVED IN ARCHIVES
15 DEC 1959
NH 1510/93(A)

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From U.K. Mission New York No. 295
December 9, 1959

PLENARY: December 9 (morning)

Question of Hungary (A/4304) (A/L.273)

Tarabanov (Bulgaria) and, later in the debate, Brucan (Roumania) spoke on orthodox Soviet lines.

2. The delegates of the Philippines, Denmark, Venezuela, Uruguay, Australia, Spain, El Salvador and Turkey spoke in support of the resolution.

3. The delegates of the Philippines said that the continued refusal of the Hungarian and Soviet governments to accept the General Assembly resolutions on Hungary contrasted with the expressed desire of those governments for world peace, and their supposed championship of down-trodden peoples. Khrushchev's speech before the Communist Party Congress at Budapest proved that Soviet troops had intervened in Hungary and that the United Nations was therefore both right, and competent, to concern itself with the Hungarian question.

4. Christiansen (Denmark), Rodriguez (Venezuela), Velasquez (Uruguay) and, later in the debate, Plimsoll (Australia) and Esin (Turkey) spoke in similar terms, Rodriguez and Velasquez stressing the continued violation of human rights in Hungary. Plimsoll added that the moral standards of the United Nations must be upheld and "what had happened in Hungary in 1956 could not be sanctified by the mere passage of time".

5. Lequerica(Spain) said that it was clear that Soviet troops had intervened in Hungary and had therefore become an aggressor within the definition of the term which the Soviet Union had once proposed to the Sixth Committee. The spirit of Camp David could not be invoked to ignore, or condone, the events in Hungary, nor could the United Nations be indifferent to the Hungarian question.

6. Urquia (El Salvador) said that whatever the provisions of the Warsaw Treaty, they must yield paramountcy to the provisions of the Charter which forebade the intervention by Member states in the affairs of other states. Munro's report showed that violation of human rights continued to take place in Hungary.

7. The debate was then adjourned.

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UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY - FOURTEENTH SESSION

REPORT ON DEBATE

From U.K. Mission New York No. 301
December 10, 1959

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1 DEC 1959
NH10110/93(C)

PLENARY - December 9 (Afternoon)

Question of Hungary (A/4304.) (A./L.273).

Bernal (Colombia) said that repression and violation of human rights continued in Hungary and the report of the Special Representative contained valid evidence of this. The United Nations was competent to discuss the question and must not abdicate this responsibility.

2. Peter (Hungary), exercising right of reply, made no new points, contending that discussion of the item was a "cold war" manoeuvre.

3. Sir L. Munro also summed up saying that his report had been based on careful attention to General Assembly Resolutions and had not been compiled from United States sources.

4. The Resolution was then put to a vote and carried 53 - 10 (Soviet bloc and Yugoslavia) - 17 (Afghanistan, Ceylon, Ethiopia, Finland, Ghana, Guinea, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Israel, Jordan, Lebanon, Libya, Saudi Arabia, Sudan, U.A.R. and Yemen).

5. Nosek (Czechoslovakia) explained his vote on the standard Soviet lines and Auguste (Haiti) said that he wanted the record to show that he would have voted for the resolution if he had been present.

U.N.C.U.R.K. Report

6. The rapporteur of the First Committee introduced the committee's report (A/4307) which included the agreed resolution.

7. Robertson (United States) and Sobolev (Soviet Union) made re-statements of their speeches in the First Committee, Robertson adding that the resolution represented the minimum action necessary to maintain the United Nations principles for a solution of the Korean problem.

8. The Resolution was then put to the vote and carried 54 - 9 (Soviet bloc) - 17 (Afghanistan, Burma, Cambodia, Finland, Ghana, Guinea, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Lebanon, Libya, Nepal, Saudi Arabia, Sudan, U.A.R., Yemen and Yugoslavia).

U.N.R.W.A.

9. The Committee's report (A/4342) was approved by a vote of 80 - 0 - 1 (Israel)

10. Comay (Israel) made the same explanation of vote as in the Special Political Committee (Report of Debate No. 296 - not to all.)

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NORTHERN DEPARTMENT

HUNGARY

N H1011 0/97.

FROM Sir Pierson Dixon, U.K. Mission to U.N., New York & Mr Co'Neill

CONFIDENTIAL

No. 10621/228/59

Dated December 15th, 1959

Received December 22nd, 1959

SUBJECT:

U.K. inconsistency in the voting at the U.N. General Assembly.

Avoidance of a debate on Hungary in 1960

References

-/92
-/79
-/76
-/61.

JR 2296/76.

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See MINUTES within

(Action completed)	(Main Indexed)
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Minutes

In his letter of December 15 attached Sir P. Dixon has drawn attention to one aspect of a problem of which we have become well aware in past weeks as a result of criticism in Parliamentary Questions and a Debate, and also in many letters from the public. There are many who, either because of ignorance or because it suits them, have expressed their disapproval of the three different ways in which we voted on three items at the recent Assembly Session: Apartheid, negative; Tibet, abstention; Hungary, in favour. Our attitude to Article 2(7) of the Charter is involved in each case, and our critics have alleged that we have voted inconsistently.

2. At the root of all the criticism is our vote against the Apartheid resolution. I have heard no genuine demand that we should have acted otherwise so far as Hungary is concerned and, although many would no doubt have preferred us to vote for the resolution on Tibet, our abstention has attracted only moderate criticism.

3. We are already examining with the C.R.O. and the C.O., for the purpose of briefing the Prime Minister for his visit to South Africa, the possibility of changing our vote on Apartheid to an abstention in future. We have also to examine what effect such a change would have on our Article 2(7) doctrine. I am therefore glad to note in para. 5 of Sir P. Dixon's letter that he will before long be letting us have his own views on this general question. We shall probably not be in a position to give him much of an indication of our own thoughts until after the Prime Minister's return from his African tour.

4. Meanwhile, I think it would be appropriate to regard Sir P. Dixon's attached letter as primarily of interest to Northern Department. The main purpose of it is to argue the case for avoiding a debate on Hungary next year.

5. As regards Hungary, unless there is any major change in our Article 2(7) doctrine, I think the decision will prove to be largely a political one for Northern Department. From the legal point of view, this year's debate was justified for the same reason as in 1958, namely that the situation "is the direct outcome of armed intervention by a foreign power in the affairs of the sovereign State of Hungary ..." (see para. 3 of Sir P. Dixon's letter). The dilemma is that, given our policy of aiming to improve our relations with Hungary, these debates appear not only to be incongruous but also to amount to interference in internal affairs. The situation would resolve itself if the Hungarian Government

/were

36283 (9370) A.O.St

were to let the events of 1956 become an event of the past. The free world could then reasonably, if not without regret and misgivings, follow suit. We could also cease to treat Hungarian credentials abnormally.

6. We shall be glad to assist in the drafting of the reply which Northern Department will no doubt wish to submit. Something on the lines of the first three paragraphs of this minute may serve to cover the aspects with which United Nations Department are most concerned.

J. G. Tahourdin.

(J. G. Tahourdin)
December 22, 1959.

Mr. Brimelow

This paper came my way yesterday behind some others and I extracted it to write this minute on it.

2. When I received Sir P. Dixon's letter I had no time to do more than glance at it but got the impression from its first paragraph that it might be partly a form of complaint about what could have been regarded as a semi-rebuke contained in the passage (drafted by the Secretary of State) in our telegram No. 1776 on Algeria to which it refers; and as such would need a carefully considered reply.

3. Having now read Sir P. Dixon's letter I see I was wrong, and I doubt whether he needs or will expect a reply at all. We can regard his letter as a useful part of the material we need for making up our minds on our line in future on Article 2(7) questions in general and Hungary in particular.

4. But I would like to raise one point which occurs to me, though it may have no validity. We always look round for an excuse to justify intervention at the U.N. on matters which, on the face of it, appear to be covered by Article 2(7). In the case of Hungary, we have the justification, which seems to me legitimate and sufficient, that the present regime in Hungary was in fact installed by illegal foreign intervention. But this argument is an awkward one to use because, whatever its origin, we in fact maintain diplomatic relations with and recognise this regime.

5. Is there not an alternative, or supplementary, ground for justifying the discussion of Hungary at the United

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Nations in the existence of the Peace Treaty with Hungary, which makes human rights in that country a matter of legitimate international concern? If we could rely on this justification, we should get over the difficulty of our recognition of and relations with the present regime. There may be arguments against using the Peace Treaty as a United Nations peg - perhaps to do so would be embarrassing in other contexts - but it seems to me worth considering whether this aspect of the matter could not be emphasised further if Hungary comes to be debated in the General Assembly again.

C O'Neill.

Mr Brimelow

(C. O'Neill)
January 7, 1960.

It was Mr. Brimelow's belief that the suggestion made in para 5 of Mr. O'Neill's minute had already been considered but that there were certain arguments against our invoking the Hungarian Peace Treaty. The search for pps has taken a little time but has failed to reveal any on which this possibility was reviewed.

2. We should be grateful for the Legal Adviser's views on this suggestion.

J. Reeve.
25/1

~~Miss Gatland~~
Legal Adviser

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I am sorry that I have held these papers up for so long, but I wished to consider very carefully whether there were any legal grounds against invoking the provisions of Article 2 of the Hungarian Peace Treaty to justify the discussion of Hungary at the United Nations.

2. The basic principles on which we justify the attitude we adopt when there is, for instance, an attempt to discuss some matter relating to an Colonial territory at the United Nations is that the United Nations Charter precludes any right by the United Nations to discuss a matter which is not the subject of international obligation for a given State. That is why we do not, in general, consider that allegation that State A has been denying to its own citizens certain fundamental human rights can be

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declared by the United Nations. The Declaration of Human Rights is a statement of principles and does not impose any legally binding obligations on any State.

3. In the case of Hungary there are, however, certain specific provisions in the Treaty of Peace with Hungary in regard to human rights. Hungary is to "take all measures necessary to secure to all persons under Hungarian jurisdiction without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion. The enjoyment of human rights and of the fundamental freedoms, including freedom of expression, of press and publication, of religious worship, of political opinion and of public worship." Furthermore any discrimination under the laws in force in Hungary between persons of Hungarian nationality with reference, inter alia,

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their political rights is prohibited.

4. That there is denial of human rights and the fundamental freedoms to many persons in Hungary is undeniable. This was the position before the uprising in October, 1956, and it has been intensified by that uprising. For many years, therefore, Hungary has been in breach of Article 2 of the Treaty of Peace, and continues so to be. It would not, therefore, be inconsistent with our general position under Article 2(7) of the United Nations Charter to insist be prepared to discuss at the U.N., in general, the question of the denial of human rights and the fundamental freedoms to Hungarian citizens. We are, however, faced with a difficulty which arises from our continued recognition of the Hungarian Government

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which repressed, with Soviet aid, the Hungarian October uprising. It can be argued that any Government which is recognised by other States as the legitimate Government of a State, is entitled to take, in accordance with its own law, such measures as are necessary to suppress a revolt against it and thereby. It can further be argued that nothing in Article 2 of the Hungarian Peace Treaty was ever intended to deprive the Hungarian Government of that right.

5. There is, therefore, a legal argument which could be used to support a general argument that it is expedient to invoke Article 2 of the Hungarian Peace Treaty as a basis for discussion of Hungary at the United Nations. It is an argument which

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36283 (9370) A.O.St.

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Minutes

Can be attacked by pointing out that the present Hungarian Government was itself imposed by force after the uprising had started, but this basis for refuting the arguments I have mentioned is weakened by our continued recognition of the Government that was imposed by force.

Joyce A. C. Gutteridge
26/2/60

U.N. ~~Dept.~~ may like to comment at this stage.

J Reeve.
29/2

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I note with interest from paras. 4 and 5 of Miss Gutteridge's minute that there are even legal difficulties which diminish the value of the Hungarian Peace Treaty as an international instrument removing from the essentially domestic jurisdiction of the Hungarian Government the Human Rights matters mentioned in the Treaty. Looking at the matter in an altogether more political light, I would conclude that we should now be ill advised to rely at all on the Peace Treaty in justifying our votes in the U.N. on 'The Question of Hungary'.

2. We have to admit that circumstances have changed greatly since the U.N. Charter and the Peace Treaties with the Satellites were drafted; were we to be given the opportunity to sit down and draft them now, in 1960, the result might be very different on such thorny problems as Human Rights. However, given the text of the Charter as it exists, and particularly of Articles 55 and 56, we have evolved the interpretation that these provisions are general aims of universal application (as is the Universal Declaration of Human Rights), but that as the Human Rights are not defined in specific terms in the Charter these Articles do not constitute a specific, legally binding, international obligation. (It is on such grounds, inter alia, that we regard apartheid as a matter essentially of domestic jurisdiction). Unfortunately, the language of the Human Rights provisions of the Hungarian Peace Treaty reproduces almost textually the similar provisions of the United Nations Charter. The Peace Treaty imposes certain international obligations; but surely the nature of the obligations must depend upon the quality of the specific definitions contained in the body of the Treaty. Were we to argue, in 1960, that the vague Human Rights provisions of the Treaty imposed more specific obligations on Hungary than the equally vague provisions in the Charter impose on other UN members, we should no doubt be accused of inconsistency. We would also risk exposing to criticism in a new context our argument that the infringement of a specific human right in a particular country is not a matter within the competence of the UN.

3. There are other arguments against reviving the Peace Treaty. We are already in difficulty because memories of the 1956 rising are fading and there is less disposition to accept that rising as the justification for UN debates on events in Hungary in 1959 or 1960. Were we to attempt to strengthen our justification of these debates by digging up the even older and more outworn argument about obligations under the Peace Treaty, the result might be counter-productive, merely emphasising

/the

the undignified lengths to which we have to go to keep the cold war alive in the UN; and showing only too plainly our anxiety to avoid weakening our own Article 2(7) position. (Reviving the Peace Treaty would surely be out of accord with our general policy of East-West Détente, too).

4. Finally, the Labour Government squeezed the Peace Treaty dry at the time of the Mindszenty trial. I attach in a green folder the White Paper Reports on proceedings at the General Assembly and the I.C.J. in 1949-1950; please see the passages flagged M,N and O. The Labour Government and the I.C.J. took the line that a dispute between another signatory and ~~with~~ Hungary about the Human Rights (or other) provisions of the Treaty should be handled in accordance with the procedure laid down in the Treaty. The procedure failed to work because the Hungarian Government refused to nominate a Representative to a Commission to settle the dispute. The ICJ concluded that the Hungarian Government had thereby committed an international wrong, but that the Treaty provided no other legal means for seeking a settlement of the dispute. The Assembly then shelved the question.

5. I hope that it will be possible to avoid drawing attention to the earlier history of the question of Hungary at the UN, which is summarised in para. 4 of this minute. A reading of the White Paper Reports shows that the Labour Government appear to have linked Articles 55 and 56 of the Charter with the Human Rights provisions of the Peace Treaty. That may not have seemed dangerous in 1950, when we could count on handsome majorities for resolutions on such topical cold war themes. Now the cold war is out of fashion; the changed membership of the UN is turning the voting tables against us; and we are far more consciously on the defensive so far as our dependent territories are concerned. We can no longer afford the luxury of an avoidable discussion about obligations in the field of human rights.

6. I therefore conclude that, if the Question of Hungary is again debated this year by the Assembly, we should again rest our support on the argument reproduced in para. 3 of Sir P. Dixon's letter within. Meanwhile, we should take whatever steps we can to bring to an end this incresingly embarrassing series of annual debates.

K.J. Uffen

K.J. Uffen
March 1, 1960

L. Scott 2/3

I agree with Mr Uffen
J S Talourdin
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Minutes

I think that U.N. Dept's arguments against using the Hungarian Peace Treaty as an additional peg for UN debates on Hungary are conclusive.

J.E. Reeve. 7/3

I agree.

2. We must also bear in mind that the line quoted in para 3 of Sir P. Dixon's letter is wearing thin as one of particular application to Hungary. Although Poland and E. Germany are the only other satellites where Soviet troops are actually stationed, the thesis really applies in varying degrees to all the satellites.

R.S.C. McAlpine 11/3

M. O'Neill

C.O. 17.3

17/3

U.N. Dept. 17/3

CONFIDENTIAL

UNITED KINGDOM MISSION
to the UNITED NATIONS,
NEW YORK.

(10621/228/59)

RECEIVED IN
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29 DEC 1959

December 15, 1959.

Mr Talbourdin — See minute

CR 17.12

(Fray B) JR 229

Fray A

Dear Con,

Please refer to Foreign Office telegram No. 1433 Saving about Hungary and to paragraph 2 of Foreign Office telegram No. 1776 which dealt with Algeria but contained some references to my speech on Hungary in Plenary on December 8. The full text of this speech was sent to you in my telegram No. 419 Saving.

Fray C — NH10110/42

2. In drafting this speech we were confronted with the inconsistency underlying our attitude to the Hungarian question at the United Nations which grows more difficult as the events of 1956 recede, and to which attention was recently drawn by Northern Department's Legal Adviser (Northern Department's letter 10110/61 of December 2). We maintain normal diplomatic relations with the Hungarian Government and are ready to make these relations more friendly if that Government modifies its policies (paragraph 2 of Foreign Office telegram No. 1433 Saving). On the other hand at the United Nations we support the decision neither to accept nor reject the credentials of the Hungarian delegation. We also support resolutions such as that of December 12, 1958, which deplored the continuing repression in Hungary and denounced the execution of Nagy and Maleter. This appears difficult to reconcile with Article 2(7) of the Charter, since, as Foreign Office telegram No. 1776 justly observes: "What could be more a matter of internal jurisdiction than the treatment of political opponents of a particular government?" Some delegations of course do not find this a problem at all, since, unlike us, they maintain that a breach of human rights anywhere in the world is a proper matter for discussion by the United Nations regardless of Article 2(7) (or that, as in the Algerian case, some great cause, such as the "right" of self-determination, over-rides Article 2(7)). Those delegations which support a stricter interpretation of Article 2(7) have based their support for resolutions dealing with repression in Hungary on the fact that the present Hungarian Government was "imposed on the Hungarian people by the armed intervention of the U.S.S.R." (General Assembly resolution of September 14, 1957) and continues in

NH10110/61 (Fray D)

/power ..

The Hon. C.D.W. O'Neill, C.M.G.,
Foreign Office.

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power by the will of the Soviet Union. Acts of repression committed by the Hungarian Government are therefore regarded by these delegations as being of a different character from acts of repression committed by, say, the South African Government. This difference rests not on the relative severity of the acts themselves but on the origins and nature of the government which commits them. In logic the attitude of those countries which base themselves on this argument would remain unaffected by any degree of liberalisation of policy by the present Hungarian Government. It is thus the origin and nature of the Hungarian Government and not its present policy which has led the General Assembly to refuse to accept the credentials of the Hungarian delegation. So far as I know, no one has ever proposed that the credentials of the South African delegation should not be accepted.

3. I expressed this view on behalf of the United Kingdom in my speech in Plenary on December 12, 1958, when I said:

> "The truth is that the present situation in Hungary exists solely because it is the will of the Soviet Government that it should exist, and because they are prepared to crush by armed force any challenge to their authority or to the authority of those whom they have set in power over the Hungarian people. . . . In these circumstances it is impossible to maintain that the situation in Hungary is merely an internal matter and the sole concern of the present authorities in that country. It is nothing of the sort. It is the direct outcome of armed intervention by a foreign power in the affairs of the sovereign state of Hungary and of the continuing threat of further armed intervention."

4. The dilemma in which we find ourselves can perhaps be summarised in this way. We maintain diplomatic relations with the Hungarian Government which we hope in certain circumstances to improve. But at the United Nations we have hitherto supported discussions and resolutions which can only be justified in terms of our interpretation of Article 2(7) by the argument that the Hungarian Government is disqualified from normal membership of the comity of nations.

/5. ..

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5. I shall before long be letting you have some views on our attitude to Article 2(7) in general. Whether or not there is any evolution in this attitude I hope that as regards the Hungarian question we shall be able to escape from the dilemma which I have described above by avoiding any further debates at the United Nations.

6. In my speech last week I did not again spell out why we consider that the situation in Hungary is a proper matter for discussion by the United Nations despite Article 2(7). It seemed to me that our views on this point have been made very clear in the past (e.g. in my speech on December 12, 1958) and that to repeat them would be unnecessarily provocative to the Soviet Union and consequently distasteful to the Assembly in its present mood. The phrase "in all these circumstances" in the last paragraph but five of my speech (my saving telegram No. 419) coming as it did immediately after a reference to the reasons for the entry of Soviet forces into Hungary in 1956, was intended as an oblique rebuttal of the Hungarian attempt to invoke Article 2(7). We felt inhibited this year from bringing this view out into the open because to have done so would have been out of harmony with our current policy of trying not to stir up the cold war while compounding to a certain extent with our scruples in regard to the Hungarian Government. This in its turn led us to lean slightly towards the "human rights" aspect of the Hungarian Government's misdeeds.

7. If we had been able to avoid, as we wished, sponsoring the resolution, we should have been better placed to blur the dilemma in which the revival of a Hungarian debate placed us; but once you decided, in response to urgent American appeals, that we should co-sponsor ~~xxxxxxxx~~ (your telegram No. 1649), we were bound to say something responsive to the resolution. This became all the more unavoidable because of Sir L. Munro's connexion with the operation and the strength of our previous speeches from the 1956 period onwards. In drafting the speech I was influenced by your telegram No. 409 Guidance, with its emphasis on the "need for a united Western stand on this question and the many recent reports of further trials and executions in Hungary."

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8. In the same connexion I decided not to make the point about improving our relations with the Hungarian Government (paragraph 2 of Foreign Office telegram No. 1433 Saving) since it seemed to me that it could be argued that there was an inconsistency between such a rather patent admission that we are prepared to compound with the Hungarian Government and our sponsorship of a resolution which maintains the 1956 attitude to that Government and our unwillingness to approve their credentials here.

9. I am sending copies of this letter to Hood in Washington and Cheetham in Budapest.

Yours ever.

Pierson Dixon.

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